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Yours very truly
Schuyler Colfax

THE LIFE

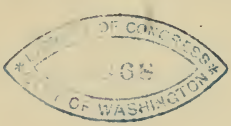
OF

SCHUYLER COLFAX.

BY

REV. A. Y. MOORE,
OF SOUTH BEND, INDIANA.

WITH A PORTRAIT.



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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

CLERK'S OFFICE,

WASHINGTON, D. C., *June 23d*, 1868.

DEAR SIRS:

The portrait of Mr. Colfax, engraved for your edition of his Life, has been framed and hung up in the Clerk's office, where many Members have seen it. All concur in saying it is the best likeness of him they have ever seen, and I agree with them in regarding it as strikingly life-like.

Respectfully yours,

EDW'D McPHERSON,

Clerk of the House of Representatives.

T. B. PETERSON & BROTHERS,

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TO

MRS. GEORGE W. MATTHEWS,

THE MOTHER OF

HON. SCHUYLER COLFAX,

WHOSE TRUST IN HIM AS A MAN HAS ONLY BEEN EQUALLED BY HER AFFECTION FOR HIM AS A SON,

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY THE AUTHOR.

SOUTH BEND, INDIANA,
JUNE, 1868.

PREFACE.

In view of the prominence of Schuyler Colfax before the American people in his past history, and now as candidate for the Vice-Presidency, this biography has been prepared, that they may become more thoroughly familiar with his character and worth. It largely embodies the editorials, letters and speeches of Mr. Colfax, setting them in the narrative of personal incident and national history. This method was adopted as more valuable than any other. It does not simply tell of Mr Colfax, but introduces the reader to personal intercourse with him.

The writer as a resident of South Bend for many years, has been intimately acquainted, both as pastor and citizen, with the private life as well as public career of Mr. Colfax. He has had access to the files of the paper, which Mr. Colfax founded, and for twenty years conducted. He has also enjoyed other sources of information of great value. These providential opportunities suggested several years

ago the preparation of such a volume as the present. It is now given to the public with the consent of Mr. Colfax, as expressed in the following letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 30, 1868.

MY DEAR MR. MOORE:

As your prediction of a year ago has been realized, I have no further objection to your publishing any sketch, more or less full, of my life, you may have prepared. As you were, for a dozen years, a fellow-townsman of mine, and valued friend, I suppose you know as much about my history as the public would care about knowing; and although my engrossing duties here leave me no time to revise the manuscript, I have no fear that your work will not be a faithful one.

Yours, very truly,

SCHUYLER COLFAX.

REV. A. Y. MOORE,
South Bend, Indiana.

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THE LIFE

OF

SCHUYLER COLFAX.

CHAPTER I.

SCHUYLER COLFAX—HIS BIRTH—ANCESTRY—EARLY LIFE—REMOVAL TO INDIANA—SENATE REPORTER—ST. JOSEPH VALLEY REGISTER.

SCHUYLER COLFAX was born in the city of New York, March 23d, 1823. The death of his father, and also of a young sister, preceded his birth. He thus became the only child of his widowed mother, and maternal care had a double part to perform in moulding his character. His grandfather was General William Colfax, who was born in Connecticut in 1760. William Colfax was commissioned lieutenant in the Continental army at seventeen, and was soon after selected by General Washington as captain commandant of the commander-in-chief's guards. This position Captain Colfax held till the disbanding of the army of the Revolution in 1783. At the close of the war Captain Colfax married Hester Schuyler, a cousin of General Philip Schuyler. General

Washington stood godfather of their first child, holding him at the baptismal font, and conferring on him his own name. The third son of this marriage bore the honored name of Schuyler. He grew up to be a quiet business man, and became teller in the Mechanics' Bank of New York city; but died in early manhood, transmitting his name as his sole legacy to his son, the subject of the present sketch.

The early years of the life of Schuyler Colfax were passed amid the stir and din of the city of New York. He had, however, occasional sight of other scenes beside the great buildings, thronged streets, and wharves, and beautiful bay of New York. Frequent visits by his widowed mother to friends far up the Hudson, as it was then esteemed, in the famous region of Saratoga, gave him frequent views of the scenery along the North river, and of the beauty and glory of the country. His school days, which were in the public schools of the city, were not numerous. They were ended by his tenth year. In his eleventh year he was employed as a clerk in a store. At this time his mother, who had been a widow for nearly eleven years, was again married. Two years afterward, at the age of thirteen, as a member of that new household, which had sprung from his mother's marriage, he was upon the tide of emigration that was flowing to the great West. St. Joseph county, in Northern Indiana, was the haven sought, and there, in a new village named New Carlisle, he was again occupied with the duties of a clerk in a store; but under very different circumstances from those that surrounded him in the commercial emporium of the nation. At that day Northern Indiana was a new country with sparse settlements. Much of the wild prairie was in its unmarred

beauty, and the oak openings were like continuous parks. The deer fed in herds, and now and then a prowling bear was shot by the skilful hunter. The red man of the forest still traversed the woods. The Indian trader still bartered for furs. The habitations of the new settlers and the germs of villages and cities were scattered over the surface of the wild, level country, like Virgil's shipwrecked mariners, "here and there upon the vast expanse."

In a few years another change of greater importance occurred. Mr. Matthews, his step-father, was elected County Auditor, and he naturally appointed young Colfax his deputy. This took him, at the age of eighteen, to South Bend, upon the banks of the beautiful St. Joseph, where has grown up since a very pleasant and thriving western city, and where from that day to this, for twenty-seven years, has been the home of Mr. Colfax.

Here, with other young men, he was the member of a moot legislature for two years, and laid the foundations of his knowledge of parliamentary law. Here, in "the county town," he was brought into the focus of politics, and also within the realms of newspaperdom. Frequent contributions from his pen found their way into the columns of the county paper. "The boy is father of the man." "Schuyler" had always been fond of newspapers and politics. When a little fellow rolling around on the floor, he would love to get a newspaper and spread it out and pore over its contents. When a clerk in New York at the age of eleven, upon the day of an important election, going home after his duties at the store were done, he stopped at the polls of the third ward, where had been the great struggle of the day, until the vote was announced. In the formation of a

habit so important to an editor and politician, described by Robbie Burns as "taking notes," he put down the ballot, and hastened on to Brooklyn, and was at the polls there when the result was made known. Some in the anxious crowd immediately inquired if the third ward in New York had been heard from, knowing that the issue of the day's conflict would be determined thereby, and when no one else responded, the youthful clerk, to their surprise and gratification, read from his memoranda the official announcement. Before he was twenty-one, Mr. Colfax had passed two winters in attendance at Indianapolis upon the Legislature as Senate reporter for the State Journal. This was not a very lucrative position, as it yielded but two dollars a day. It had, however, other advantages highly esteemed by the proprietor of the Journal, though not so highly prized by the reporter; for seeking an increase of his per diem, the proprietor demurred. He thought that the acquaintanceship which the reporter's berth gave with public men, and the prospects it afforded one of becoming ultimately a successful candidate for Congress, made it a good thing. The young reporter humorously offered to sell out all his chances for Congress for an additional dollar added to the per diem, but the proprietor of the Journal was immovable.

In 1845 Mr. Colfax became editor and proprietor of the *St. Joseph Valley Register*, a paper which he founded. Already he had acquired no little reputation as a ready writer, an able politician, and a young man of sterling worth and integrity. The contemporary press in his own and adjacent States spoke of his paper in the highest terms, "as one of the very best in the State," and of its editor as having "a thorough acquaintance with

political subjects," as being "one of the best writers in the State," "clear, sound, pointed and sensible; besides having a big and an honest heart."

With quick perceptions, warm and generous heart, finely constituted social nature, and inflexible conscientiousness, Mr. Colfax had indomitable energy and untiring industry. The *Register*, under the management of such an editor, steadily grew from a patronage of two hundred and fifty subscribers, which it possessed at the beginning of its existence, until it became the largest paper, and one of the most widely circulated weekly journals of the State.

The *Register* was a pure paper. It did not carry the delineations of the revolting and demoralizing scenes of crime into the households it visited. It was the advocate of good things; an earnest, ardent advocate of temperance, and the things that build up society. Many a fine essay worthy of a better fate than "alms for oblivion," is found in its old files. Its selections were of high character, made from the best popular, historical, scientific and literary productions of the press. Sprightly effervescence of genial, intellectual power, gleamed in its editorials. Innumerable letters from its ever journeying editor, gave the geography, statistics, politics and history of different portions of the country. Its letters from Congress will give fine illuminations of the past to some future historian. In politics it was first Whig and then Republican. There was always a frank and outspoken expression of opinion on the questions before the American public. It was wise and it was honest, and in the judgment of a veteran editor of a New York daily, "always communicated to a daily political writer a valuable political impression."

CHAPTER II.

EARNEST WHIG—PERSEVERE—GENERAL TAYLOR—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH—ADVOCATED FOR PRESIDENCY—NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1848.

How earnestly Mr. Colfax was a Whig, at the age of twenty-two, may be inferred from the following editorial in the *Register*, of September, 1845:

"Reverses may and will dampen the ardor and zeal of any party; but the true man speedily recovers from such mortifications, and labors on steadfastly and earnestly, knowing that the gloom of the present will be superseded by the ultimate triumph of his principles and his cause. What though one may not be able to win success next year, or the next, or the next? Even though we could scan no ray of hope in the political horizon, should we then despair or yield? Far from it. Such thoughts are the counsel of treason, the promptings of indolence! Expediency as well as honor and right, forbid that we should listen to them. The page of history is full of records of victory won by untiring perseverance, after frequent defeats. It tells of none gained by apathy or despair. The patriots of the Revolution were themselves driven almost to the grave during their unyielding resistance to the armies of the British despot. Ever faithful to their cause amid the winter snows as well as the summer heats; when full of fears and doubts as well as when victorious; when encompassed by enemies, as well as when not; when fatigued, destitute of clothing or ammunition, betrayed by traitors, outlawed as rebels, with odds of a hundred

to one against them, they labored on fearlessly, resolutely, earnestly, hopefully. A Yorktown came at last, and their trials and devotion were repaid by victory decisive and complete.

"'Persevere' is indeed a glorious word. It has been a talisman to the oppressed. It has given fortune and honors to the poor and lowly. It will yet give success and triumph to the 'beaten, but not conquered' Whig party."

Mr. Colfax was a very ardent admirer of Henry Clay. He felt that the country was dishonored when, in 1844, Mr. Clay was defeated in the contest for the presidency. The October and November elections of 1846 gave hope to the Whig party that in the next Presidential contest they would be victorious. Mr. Colfax, in the ardor of his love for the "man that would rather be right than be President," would gladly have given his influence for Henry Clay, but with the keenness of perception for which he has always been distinguished in reading the political signs of the times, he saw in General Zachary Taylor the available candidate and the coming man, and more than a year before the nomination of General Taylor as the candidate of the Whig party for President, and upon the ground that we are to seek the advancement and triumph of principles, not of men, he became the earnest advocate of General Taylor for the presidency. Mr. Colfax thus wrote of him for the *Register* in a brief sketch, which is of permanent interest, not only because of the fine setting in which is placed biographical truth, but also because of its analysis of the military character upon whom the highest civil honors of the great republic are worthily bestowed.

GENERAL ZACHARY TAYLOR.

"'Some men are born great—some achieve greatness—and some have greatness thrust upon them.' Thus reads, in substance, a pithy apothegm, penned by a writer who never missed his mark and never said a foolish thing. The history of the world furnishes examples of each of the three classes thus sketched. An hereditary king in Europe rises before our mind as we think of the first division; his excellency, President Polk, as we turn to the last; and brave 'old Rough and Ready,' as we look for those who, with their own right arm, 'achieve greatness.'

"Truly may it be said that General Taylor has been the architect of his own fortunes—the winner, by his own merit, of his just and deserved popularity. Since the first brevet given him by Madison in 1813, for his successful defence of Fort Harrison, with a handful of men against four hundred British and Indians, bestowed upon him, not as a mark of favor, but as a just award to cool and unflinching bravery, no adventitious circumstances—no favoritism—no watchful friends in high places—have assisted him in his upward steppings to the present distinguished position in rank that he has received. Every battle that he has fought he has won, in spite of all odds; and never yet has he fought a battle in which the weight of numbers has not been largely, often immensely, against him. Triumphing over every difficulty — victorious over all opposition — he has proven himself to be the great Captain of the age, and, at the same time, America's most unassuming citizen.

"We are not of that class who believe that merely military talents, pre-eminent though they may be, will of themselves alone qualify their possessor for the highest civic office in the gift of our Republic. Far from it. Their tendency we believe rather toward the reverse. The fitness of the most of military chieftains for such a post is marred, first, by the fact that their education upon bloody battle-fields makes them too careless of life and blunts the finer feelings of humanity and mercy in their character; and second, because the imperious power of commanding-generals too often engenders habits of proud dictation and self-will, and renders them restless and violent at any attempted thwarting of their desires. But, almost universal as are these faults in the character of military officers, General Taylor has proved that they have no abiding place in his. Plain and unassuming as he is in his manners, unostentatious as he is in his deportment and daily life, his soldiers feel that they can approach him as a comrade with no fear of meeting the stern bearing or arrogant rebuke of the proud and haughty General. Ever careful of the lives of his own soldiers, the humanity of his kind and merciful heart extends also to those of his enemy. Witness his acceptance of the capitulation of Monterey, partly to save the lives of the conquered, and in relation to which he has, for that very reason, been so unsparingly censured. Witness his message to a regiment of Mexican troops at Buena Vista, whom our soldiers were cutting to pieces, that, if they would surrender, they should not be harmed. Witness how, in every battle, the tide of bloodshed is promptly arrested at the very moment of surrender. Witness how speedily medical aid is sent

by him to the wounded of the enemy. Witness how, after the last battle, he drummed out of the camp those retaken deserters, who, according to the articles of war, he could have had hung or shot. His humanity is one of the finest attributes of his character. Fearless and bold as he is in conflict, resolute and determined as he is for victory, no man springs more quickly to arrest the flow of blood than he does the moment it can safely be done. Within the bosom of no man throbs a heart more full of mercy and of kindness. Bright and beautiful as are his other finely developed traits of character, this one, in our eyes, viewing him as a man brought up to war, far outshines and outranks them all. It is indeed his crowning excellence.

"The military career of General Taylor has truly been a brilliant one. Not a single defeat—not even a repulse mars its constant succession of victories. We have spoken above of his opening one at Fort Harrison in this State, by which he obtained the first brevet ever given in the army. Serving afterwards in the Black Hawk war, without mixing in any actual fighting, he remained in command of the garrison at Prairie du Chien from 1832 to 1836, when he was called to Florida. Amid all the defeats which disgraced the annals of that war, Taylor, in the only battle in which he participated, achieved a most decisive victory at Okee-cho-bee over a large force of Indians, strongly posted in a dense hummock—a victory which virtually ended the war, and which attained for him the brevet rank of Brigadier-General. His triumphs in Mexico, despite every disadvantage and the odds constantly arrayed against him, are fresh in the minds of our readers. And while on this point, we would say that though Palo Alto, Resaca and

Monterey are victories worthy of any general, the battle of Buena Vista, considering all the circumstances, will stand out on the page of History as the greatest achievement of American arms since Washington led its soldiers to the bloody fields of Yorktown.

"At New Orleans, where Jackson achieved so much glory and renown, the opposing forces were almost equally matched—our army was defended by a strong and ball-proof rampart; they were on their own soil, fighting for their homes, their property and the honor of their wives and daughters; for 'beauty and booty' was the British watchword—they had every thing in their favor. At Buena Vista the little army of Taylor was crippled by the withdrawal of nearly all his regulars; it was in the heart of an enemy's country, four hundred miles from the national border. It was attacked by an army over *four* times its size; an army fighting for *their* homes, and fighting, too, in that desperation which makes brave men even of cowards; an army led on by the ablest General Mexico possessed; and yet, though hundreds deserted him in the crisis of the action, though the overwhelming cloud of Mexicans seemed certain to overwhelm him by the weight of numbers, if not by fighting, yet did old Rough and Ready again come forth from this fiery trial pre-eminently victorious. Again does he send back the news of a brilliant triumph over an army of Mexican veterans, when his countrymen had at best hoped to hear that his wary prudence, foresight and judgment had preserved his troops from being cut to pieces. Again does he astonish the nation with the tidings of a victory that vies, considering the odds against him, with any of Napoleon's. Again do his brief and modest despatches recount the details of the battle, as if

his officers and men had fought it all themselves, while he had done apparently nothing.

"With all the brilliant and pre-eminent talents of General Taylor as a military man, his plans of policy, the language of his military despatches, and all his correspondence both with the Government and his friends, stamp him a civilian of the highest rank, and prove that though he has so successfully studied military tactics, he is possessed of other talents that would cause him to adorn any station that he might be called on to fill. The signs of the times are plainly indicating that no action, save his own positive refusal, can prevent him from being elevated, by a grateful people, to the chief magistracy of the republic. He will go there, a man of the people, desirous only to administer their affairs as judiciously in the cabinet as he has led their armies in the field, conscious that the measure of his fame is full, and only anxious that no act of his as President may mar his honor or impair the confidence of his countrymen. Entirely estranged as he has been by his military position from the conflicts of politics, he will go to Washington as the President of the people, and not like his predecessor, the President of a party; and will aim so to act, that our whole nation may again, as in the days of the brave Washington and the good Monroe, be united in one, and its citizens dwell together in harmony. Happy indeed for the whole country will be the day when he will stand in front of the Capitol, having taken his last step of promotion upward, to swear fidelity to the Constitution and to the interests of that people whose votes of almost acclamation have called him to their head. That that oath will be faithfully and impartially fulfilled, the whole records of his past life amply testify, and it

requires no prophet's vision to foretell that the administration of President Taylor will be as happy and as prosperous as any of its predecessors in any era of our republic's history."

Mr. Colfax was a member and one of the Secretaries of the National Convention of 1848, that nominated General Taylor for the Presidency. The sanguine hopes, however, that were founded upon his election, were doomed to disappointment. Death entered the White House for the second time, and took away the head of the nation. The administration of the government by Mr. Fillmore, the succeeding Vice-President, was very different from what it would have been under General Taylor, and its history need not be recounted here.

CHAPTER III.

NEW ISSUES—WILMOT PROVISO—KNELL OF THE PECULIAR INSTITUTION—INDIANA STATE CONVENTION—BANK QUESTION—OPPOSITION TO THE SEPARATE ARTICLE OF CONSTITUTION.

THE Mexican war and its issues had introduced new elements into American politics, or at least had so enlarged the sphere of old elements, and had so increased their intensity, that they were as new. A large area of territory had been added to the United States. Was slavery to be introduced into the new territory?

When, during the Mexican war, the President, in a special message to Congress, asked for a considerable sum of money to be placed at his disposal for the sake

of securing, in the peace that would soon be made with Mexico, a large portion of the territory of Mexico to be added to the United States, and a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives for the purpose of placing this money at the President's disposal, a hasty consultation among Democratic members from the North resulted in a motion by Mr. Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, to add to the first section of the bill the following:

"Provided, That, as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the republic of Mexico by the United States, by virtue of any treaty that may be negotiated between them, and to the use by the Executive of the moneys herein appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted."

This became the famous Wilmot Proviso.

For the admission of slavery into the southwestern territories there had been claimed the fact that over some of them the jurisdiction of the original slave States had at first extended, and also that the others that came to us by purchase from France and Spain, and from Texas by annexation, had been previously occupied by slavery. Slavery was engrafted upon Florida and Louisiana and also upon Texas before they were parts of the United States. But slavery did not exist in the territory to be acquired from Mexico. Twenty years before, Mexico had entirely abolished slavery. The object of the Wilmot Proviso was that slavery might be shut up within the States already occupied by it, and that the free soil acquired from Mexico might remain forever free. The Proviso met with strong opposition in the House, but it finally passed. The Senate,

however, was not permitted to vote upon it, as it was among the last things passed upon by the House; and previous to its being acted on by the Senate, Mr. John Davis, of Massachusetts, rising for debate, persisted in talking against time until the hour which had been concurrently fixed for adjournment.

The telegraph communicated to the country the passage of this proviso by the House of Representatives, and it was expected to pass without difficulty through the Senate. Of this proviso, and its passage through the House, Mr. Colfax thus wrote, and it will be remembered that this was twenty years ago:

"The whole power of the President has been exercised to defeat this movement. His patronage, his influence, his offices have been thrown into the scale against it. Thanks to the firmness, the integrity, the fidelity of Northern Congressmen, his counsel has been spurned. True to the impulses of freedom, the popular branch of Congress has, by its action, given embodiment and form to that public opinion of the Northern States which declares: 'Not another inch of slave territory.' It is, indeed, a manly stand. It makes the pulse of those who hope yet to see the day when the chain of human bondage shall be broken, beat quicker and more gladly. It sounds in the ears of those, who prefer anarchy and dissolution to a gradual emancipation, as the knell of 'the peculiar institution.' And like those Christmas chimes, which Dickens so beautifully portrays, as constantly repeating the same language to the poor Briton, so, wherever throughout the whole South this news shall speed, it will seem to every ear, constantly, in expressive language, to ring forth: 'It must fall! It must fall!'

"We cannot believe that, after this noble stand has been deliberately taken, in full view of the shrewish scolding of the organ, and of the stern indignation of sincere but mistaken Southrons, in defiance of the thunders of Executive anger and the blandishments of Executive favor, that those who have thus publicly and before the gaze of the world committed themselves, will recede from their determination.

"It cannot be that any of them who have thus earned the honor and praise of their constituents will voluntarily prefer, by an abandonment of their position, the disgrace and shame, the reproach and dishonor that would be in such case their only reward. If they do not, there will be a bow of hope to the friends of peace spanning over the miseries of our present war. If it is positively known that all the territory our army can wrest from Mexico is to come into the Union as free States, thus girding the slave States with a belt of freedom, our Southern President will himself begin to consider the war as useless; and the advice of Dargan of Alabama, and of Calhoun, great, even in his errors, will be heeded. A treaty of peace will soon be signed and ratified, and the country again become contented, prosperous, and happy, with no clash of arms to mar its quiet, no tales of horror to thrill through all its borders."

In 1849 the revision of the constitution of Indiana was brought before the people of that State. Since 1816, the time the State was admitted into the Union, the constitution had remained unaltered. At every period when the Legislature sent down the question of convention or no convention to the people, the answer had come back, "We desire no change; we would rather

bear what errors there may be in the constitution than hazard it being made worse by amending." In 1828 the political world was agitated by the contest between Jackson and Adams, and the people then most wisely resolved that their constitution should not be touched at such a time of bitter party-strife. In 1840 the question was again submitted to the people, but the country was rocking with that fiercely-fought contest, that most exciting conflict, acrimonious on both sides, between Van Buren and Harrison, and again the people wisely said '*No.*' In 1844 the question was again put. The waves of party strife had measurably subsided, when compared with the tempest of the previous national struggle, and though a majority of those who thought upon the question at all voted for a convention, but one-half of the people altogether voted, and the popular verdict was too equivocal to warrant the important step of calling such an important body together. In 1849 party strife seemed to have lost much of its bitterness; it seemed a propitious time for revising the State constitution. The subject was again brought before the people, and a convention for the revision of the constitution determined upon. Mr. Colfax had taken an active part, editorially, in the advocacy of such convention, and by a large majority of votes was elected a delegate to the convention.

In this convention Mr. Colfax won for himself no little reputation as a ready debater and fine speaker, a man of generous impulses, of conscientious character and decided ability. He had written a number of articles previous to the calling of the convention, advocating a number of changes; such changes, too, as would make the constitution an instrument of principles rather than of laws, leaving to the Legislatures and Courts their appropriate

duties. These articles were very generally copied by the papers of the State. In the convention he was the successful advocate of several of its most imporant measures. Previous to his election he had advocated a general banking law for the State, in opposition to exclusive chartered monopolies; a general banking law, however, which should provide the amplest guarantees for the security of the bill-holder; a general law, too, which should not in its turn become a monopoly, but which should be open to such improvements as "experience, a great teacher in political as well as social life," might point out as safer and better. In the convention the bank question was one of its most exciting questions. Mr. Colfax was the author of a compromise section, authorizing a general banking law, that harmonized conflicting views. "To have been the pacificator of this important measure," said the *State Journal* of Indianapolis of that date, "is certainly creditable to Mr. Colfax, and is evidence of his high standing and influence in the convention."

Mr. Colfax took very decided ground in the convention against a section in the constitution prohibiting the further immigration of negroes and mulattoes, and prohibiting those in the State from purchasing real estate. The old constitution contained at its opening this declaration: "That the general, great and essential principles of liberty and free government may be recognized and unalterably established, we declare that all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent and inalienable rights; among which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, and of *acquiring*, possessing and obtaining happiness and safety." The change proposed was certainly "not a step forward but

backward; not a step impelled by the out-gushing heart of humanity, but a stride backwards into the darkness of past prejudice and oppression." Mr. Colfax knew he was arguing before men whose minds were possessed by a strong prejudice against a particular subject and a particular class and race; he knew, too, that it would be in vain to change the expressed will of a very decided majority of the convention, but he felt it his duty, and his heart prompted him to make a speech as able as he could "against the proposed measure, and in favor of equal and exact justice to all men, regardless of creed, race or color." But the effort proved fruitless. The convention submitted it in a separate article to the people, and they adopted it by an overwhelming majority. To the honor of the present Supreme Bench of Indiana, they have annulled it as in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, thus affirming as just Mr. Colfax's arguments against it sixteen years before.

CHAPTER IV.

NOMINATED FOR CONGRESS — COMPETITOR — STUMPING — TARRYING AT JERICHO — CONGRESSIONAL CHAIR AND CONSCIENCE—DEFEAT—DELEGATE TO NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1852—STIRRING SCENES.

In 1851, when but three years past the constitutional age necessary for a seat in Congress, Mr. Colfax was nominated by the Whigs of his district as their candidate

for Congress. This nomination was unsought, unexpected and unanimous. His competitor was Dr. Graham N. Fitch, then incumbent of the Congressional chair of the district. Dr. Fitch was an able and experienced politician and "a good stumper." According to the custom from the beginning of the Hoosier State, the candidates stumped the district together. In company, they traversed the sixteen counties constituting the district—rode together, ate together, sometimes slept together, but attempted to slash each other most savagely on the stump. Seventy appointments for speaking were kept, requiring more than a thousand miles travelling. The candidates rode sometimes forty or fifty miles a day, besides making two speeches, sometimes taking supper at midnight, and sometimes not at all.

The candidates began their canvass in the southern part of the district, where Dr. Fitch was at home and Mr. Colfax was a stranger. Dr. Fitch made the opening speech. Just before sitting down, hoping to overwhelm his youthful competitor with ridicule, he advised him, instead of attempting to get a seat in Congress, to tarry at Jericho till his beard should be grown. The Doctor had been artful and unfair in his speech, hoping to use up his competitor at once. This allusion to the tarrying of his beardless competitor at Jericho called out the vociferous yells and derisive laughter of his partisans. Before that derisive laughter had died away, Mr. Colfax was called upon to come forward and begin his first speech in his first canvass for Congress. Stepping forward quickly, and glancing around with his keen, searching eye, he took the hearts of the audience captive, as with the readiness of a practised debater, and with a just indignation, that made his words sound like the twang of a bow

that had sent forth a well-sped arrow, he said, "I was not aware, my fellow-citizens, that brass and beard were the necessary qualifications of a Congressman. If, in your judgment, it is so, I must renounce all hopes of your votes, as I confess, what you cannot but see, that my competitor has a superabundance of both." The cries of "Good, good," and the ringing cheers that greeted this opening, told the Doctor that if he was a Goliath, he had, in the stripling before him, a David to contend with.

Upon another occasion during this canvass the following noteworthy incident occurred:

The new constitution, framed by the convention of which Mr. Colfax had been a member, was then before the people for their adoption or rejection. The clause prohibiting the immigration of free colored persons into the State was to be submitted to the people separately. This provision of the constitution Mr. Colfax had warmly and strenuously opposed, though in vain, as unjust, oppressive, and opposed to the supreme law of the land. The competing Congressional candidates had agreed, however, beforehand, that the issues before the people, upon the adoption of the constitution and of this separate clause of the constitution, were not to be brought into their canvass, as they had nothing at all to do with Congressional matters. But Dr. Fitch, knowing the character of the crowd before him, and that many in it had strong prejudices against the negro, and were strongly opposed to the course which Mr. Colfax and those with him had pursued in the convention, in answer to a public question from one of his friends, replied that he was heartily in favor of the adoption of this separate clause of the Constitution. Mr. Colfax met the unexpected issue fairly and frankly. He stated

the previous agreement of the candidates; he showed the matter had no relevancy to the Congressional canvass, and then fully and fairly and boldly stated his views. "These," said he, "are my conscientious convictions. If you ask me to sacrifice them for a seat in Congress, I tell you frankly I cannot do it. I would not act counter to my convictions of duty, if you could give me fifty terms in Congress." His bold, manly course lost him no friends from among those whom his competitor had hoped to gain, and who voted so overwhelmingly for the article Mr. Colfax so inflexibly and boldly opposed.

Mr. Colfax far surpassed the expectations of all his friends in the canvass which he made. He was defeated, however, as his friends claimed, through illegal votes along the line of a railroad, then in process of construction, through the district. The majority against him was about two hundred.

In 1852 Mr. Colfax was a delegate to the National Convention that nominated General Scott for the Presidency. He was also one of the secretaries of the convention. The following editorial photograph of the convention in the *Register* presents us with a vivid picture of the times:

STIRRING SCENES OF THE CONVENTION.

"The Whig National Convention at Baltimore was not only a *full* convention, but a monster one. Every State in the Union—far-distant California not excepted, and Texas included—was fully represented, and many of them more than fully. One delegate for each electoral vote would have made a convention of two hundred and

ninety-five members—certainly as large a body as could be kept in order by one presiding officer. But a large majority of the Southern States had sent far more than this number, to which, however, every Northern State, without exception, had limited itself. For instance, Virginia, with fifteen electoral votes, had about forty regular delegates, most of her districts having three delegates each. Kentucky and Tennessee, with twelve electoral votes each, had twice that number of delegates. Louisiana, six votes, had twenty-five delegates on the ground, having really chosen one hundred and sixty at her State convention. Thus there were fully five hundred delegates upon the platform, all interested, all excited, and, we were going to say, sometimes almost all talking at once. The very fact that the division on the prominent rival candidates was to a great extent a sectional one, (Scott's one hundred and thirty-one votes on the first ballot being *every one* Northern men, unless Delaware may be considered a Southern State,) added to the excitement of the occasion. The thousands of spectators who filled every place in the galleries and on the floor where a human being could sit or stand, and who were not chary in expressing their feelings also by applause, hisses, and parenthetical remarks, did not tend to lessen the 'noise and confusion.' While the ladies—God bless them!—who by hundreds thronged the gallery allotted to them, could not be expected to restrain murmurs of approbation, though they always had the good taste, which their worser halves did not, of never manifesting dissent in an offensive manner. With all these concomitants, so agreeable at mass meetings, but so noise-provoking at conventions, it is not to be wondered at that the tumult often exceeded that of the Philadelphia

convention of 1848, which we supposed then could never be surpassed. Congressmen looked on in amazement to see the convention throwing even their scenes of excitement into the shade; and we were ourselves reminded of Ik Marvel's description of the clamor which so often reigned supreme in the French Legislative Assembly of nine hundred members; and looked to see if our president would not, like Dupin, endeavor to restore order by putting on his hat and ringing a bell till *its* tongue should silence all the others. But, happily, every storm is succeeded by a calm, and the rainbow of promise spanned the horizon long before the convention had closed its labors.

"We must allude to two or three of the stirring scenes of this eventful assembly. The first was when Botts replied to a speech of Choate's, in which that distinguished gentleman, in an eloquent effort, which, however, did not meet public expectation, not content with eulogizing Mr. Webster, had gone out of his way to sneer at General Scott as 'having a letter in every man's breeches pocket.' The indignant reply of the fearless Virginian raised a perfect whirlwind of applause amongst the friends of General Scott, and his cool disregard of all attempts to cross-question or confuse him, heightened our former opinion of his ability. We need scarcely add that Mr. Choate took it all back.

"But decidedly the wildest scene of excitement during the whole session was during an encounter between Cabell, of Florida, and Raymond, of the *New York Times*. The former, who had been officiously interfering in every thing during the convention, and who is well-known as one of the Southern Hotspurs, took occasion, during some remarks of Mr. Raymond, to ask him some

questions, which, in their language and inferences, were slanderous. The prompt reply of the latter, but thirty years of age, and so slender that he weighs but one hundred and twenty pounds, was, that the statement of the gentleman from Florida contained such a bald untruth that he was surprised he would make it. Cabell rose instantly, pale with rage at the imputation, talked about vindicating his character without the aid of the convention, and declared that he would not submit to such language from any person whatever. Raymond as coolly as if sitting in his editorial chair, though the convention swayed to and fro with excitement, promptly turned and facing Cabell, who was about ten feet distant, repeated all that he had said with special emphasis, and with a clear, ringing voice that was heard to the remotest corner of the vast hall, added, 'and let me assure the gentleman from Florida that *whenever* he utters untruths with regard to me, he *shall submit* to whatever I may say in repelling them.' This fearless braving of Southern chivalry, so unusual amongst Northern men, caused the whole convention apparently to rise as one man and give vent to their feelings in prolonged applause—bouquets showered down from the daughters of the sunny South in the galleries upon the head of the brave young Northerner—even South Carolina and Louisiana delegates congratulated him personally on his fearlessness. Cabell took back the offensive question, and Raymond 'accepted the explanation as satisfactory.'

"Another stirring scene was when Colonel Williams, of Kentucky, declared, on the forty-seventh ballot, that though his delegation persisted in voting for Mr. Fillmore, his first choice was the heroic Winfield Scott. Every sentence of his eloquent speech was applauded to the

echo, and when he first mentioned the name of our great General, the bouquets poured upon him from the galleries without stint. His concluding eulogy upon the old soldier left the convention in a perfect whirlwind of excitement.

"But the most gratifying of all was, after the fifty-third decisive ballot, when the president had declared General Scott duly nominated as the Whig candidate for the Presidency of the United States. A resolution was offered that the nomination be made unanimous. And State after State, whose delegates, it had been declared, would secede from the convention if he was nominated, gave in their cordial adhesion, pledging all their Whig constituents to an enthusiastic support of the ticket. The whole convention would sometimes be upon their feet, and North Carolina, Louisiana, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee were specially cheered. The scene was one worthy of the painter's pencil, if he could only transfer the exuberant enthusiasm upon the canvas.

"Finally the convention, after five days' session, adjourned, with hearty good feeling prevailing in every section of it, and with an union and harmony in behalf of the ticket, presenting a strong contrast with the closing scenes of the conventions of 1840 and 1848."

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL SCOTT—WHIG PARTY—CAUSE OF ITS DEFEAT—HOPE FOR THE FUTURE—STEADFASTNESS—THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS—SENATE TERRITORIAL COMMITTEE—REPEAL OF MISSOURI COMPROMISE REPORTED.

GENERAL SCOTT, however, did not prove the victorious leader of the Whig party that he had been of the armies of his country. Of the defeat of the Whigs in that contest and the future of their party, Mr. Colfax thus wrote:

THE WHIG PARTY.

"The official returns of the late Presidential election are not yet fully made up, California, Texas, etc., being behind; but their summing up will be in round numbers about as follows: Pierce, 1,500,000 votes; Scott, 1,300,000; Hale, 150,000; Troup, Southern Rights, 5,000; Broome, Native American, 2,000; Webster, Union, 8,000. The total vote of the nation will foot up about 3,000,000; of which General Pierce will have about one-half, or more probably, a very small fraction over half.

"We dissent in the furthest degree from those in our ranks, who, since the defeat last month, speak of the Whig party as '*dead.*' It is galling, we know, to see, as Mr. Greeley saw, thousands of men, who called themselves Whigs, vote directly for Pierce and the ascendancy of Locofoco principles, in order, as they openly avowed, to revenge themselves for their defeat at the

National Convention. But this shameless recreancy does not in the least impair the value of genuine Whig principles, the necessity for a Whig party, or the duty of Whig voters. A great party, a great cause, may be stricken down by foul treachery. But the sleepless clock of time ticks on, and brings around at last the hour of retribution.

"The Whig party has passed through bitterer reverses than the one which has just overtaken it. When its champions declared manfully their resistance to Executive power, and the popularity of General Jackson rolled like a huge wave over the country, destroying nearly all who opposed him, those fearless defenders of principle quailed not, faltered not, yielded not. In those days, as now, the office-seekers, the camp-followers of the party, deserted to the ranks of the victorious chieftain; but the faithful champions of Whig principles, undismayed by the cheerless prospect, stood fast.

"That dynasty passed away. Its powerful and popular head, whose iron will had bound his party together in unity and in triumph, issued his farewell address to his countrymen, declaring that he left this great country free, prosperous and happy, designated his successor, and retired from the Executive chair. In that campaign of 1836, the prospect was even more forbidding. The members of the Whig party, almost disbanded, certainly disunited and hopeless, fought in different sections of the country, like the Bunker Hill riflemen, on their own hook. The Southwest rallied under Hugh L. White, the Northwest under Harrison, the Northeast under Webster, and Martin Van Buren came in by a large majority over all. The State of New York he carried by over 28,000 majority, larger than she gives now to

Pierce, who has but one thousand votes over half the total number of her electors, and yet the defeated Whig party stood fearless, resolute as ever. A single year passed by: the Conservatives, incensed at the destructive policy of the administration, forsook it, and the more readily because they saw that the great Whig party maintained its organization and would stand by them effectively in the position which they took. The overwhelming majority of New York was reversed in a single year—the Empire State repudiated her own 'favorite son,' as he had been called, and struck a blow, that paved the way for the triumph of 1840.

"The fruits of the victory of that celebrated year were turned into ashes as the body of Harrison mouldered in its tomb; and his successor, like the viper, stung the party which had warmed him into political life and power. But despite that signal treachery, with all the official patronage of the administration they had elected turned malignantly against them, and recreant Congressmen aiding the defection by going over to the enemy, this noble party rallied again, purged as it was of its camp-followers, and would have elevated its chosen leader, Henry Clay, to the Presidency, but for the fatal influence of his own Texas letters to Alabama.

"Mr. Polk entered the Presidential mansion. The Mexican war followed. The Whig party generally took the ground that it was unnecessary and could have been avoided. For this they were unjustly denounced in Congress and out of it, as traitors to their country, as preferring the triumphs of the Mexicans to those of our own arms; and every attempt was made, in every way, from the message of the President to its echoes on the stump and in the press, to array public prejudice against

it. Yet in 1848, with all the prestige of that war, and of its annexation of California, New Mexico, etc., against us, it again achieved a national triumph, and the administration of Mr. Polk was succeeded by one thoroughly Whig in all its departments.

"If others can see no hope in the future, we, with this retrospect before us, confess that our vision is *more* sanguine. There is yet work for the Whig party to accomplish—there are yet victories for it to achieve, if it remains faithful to its principles and its organization. In the hey-day of prosperity the name of Democracy is potent, and its candidates ride on the topmost waves of popularity.

"'Each petty hand can steer a ship becalmed.' But when the horizon is overcast with clouds, when experiments upon the currency or the peace of the country cause revulsions or disasters, financial or national, the people look instinctively to the Whig party and its conservative policy for relief. When the Democracy in power are tested by their acts rather than by their name, the contrast enures to Whig success. Thus was it from 1836 to 1840—thus was it from 1844 to 1848—and thus it will be again.

"The Democratic party has triumphed at the recent election because, aided by divisions in our own ranks, it has drawn to its embrace the most discordant materials ever leagued together to achieve a triumph over a common foe. Thus we have seen the Wilmots and Van Burens of the North, and the Soules and the South Carolinians of the South, regardless of the vast difference in the views they *professed* to hold on slavery, leagued together in the same party. Thus also the Protective Tariff Democrats of Pennsylvania and the pro-

tection-haters everywhere have united; and thus also the Harbor Improvement Democrats of Wisconsin, Michigan, etc., crossed palms with those who denounce such appropriations as both unconstitutional and inexpedient. While free soil warred against us on account of our 'platform,' cotton stabbed us on account of our candidate; and when the State elections of August and October proved adverse, those in our ranks who cared more for spoils than principle, forsook us for the party that they foresaw was to be victorious.

"It seems impossible that a party thus constituted shall hold together, with its numbers unimpaired. It seems impossible that the administration can justify the hopes, either in principle or patronage, of all the discordant factions which have brought it into power. But if it does, rather than we should, like cravens, desert in adversity those principles which we professed to esteem and support under more favorable circumstances, we would rather go down to a certain defeat in 1856, with banners flying, than to abandon our national organization. With a leader of whom we will have a right to be proud, let us strike for what we believe to be right, and deserve success, even if we fail to attain it. Thus alone can we prove ourselves to be worthy to bear the name honored by the Whigs of the Revolution, who preferred to stand by the right, amid reverses and gloom, rather than by laying down their arms to purchase a lifetime of inglorious ease. There are Arnolds now as then, but the party is purged of them. Our ranks may be thinned by the desertion of the timorous and the recreant. We may feel politically the snows and the trials of Valley Forge. But, faithful to duty and principle, the darker hours will pass away,

and the rays of a Yorktown sun will yet shine brightly upon our banners."

The great Whig party, however, was destined soon to pass away. The principles and policy for which it had contended ceased to be the paramount questions of the land. Other issues, greater and more vital, came before the people, which not only caused the abandonment of the organization of the Whig, but a grand upheaval in the Democratic party.

The Thirty-third Congress, the first under the administration of Mr. Pierce, made itself famous by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Early in the session a bill was introduced into the Senate for the organization of the Territory of Nebraska. This bill was referred to the committee on territories, of which Senator Douglas, of Illinois, was chairman. The first bill that was reported to the Senate by the committee, through their chairman, left undecided all the disputed questions respecting the entrance of slavery into the territories. Its language was: "Your committee do not feel themselves called to enter upon the discussion of these controverted questions. They involve the same grave issues which produced the agitation, the sectional strife, and the fearful struggle of 1850. As Congress deemed it wise and prudent to refrain from deciding the matters in controversy then, either by affirming or repealing the Mexican laws, or by an act declaratory of the true intent of the Constitution, and the extent of the protection afforded by it to slave property in the territories, so your committee are not prepared to recommend a departure from the course pursued on that memorable occasion, either by affirming or repealing the eighth section of the Mis-

souri act, or by any act declaratory of the meaning of the Constitution in respect to the legal points in dispute."

At the request of Senator Douglas the bill was recommitted in consequence of opposition made, and especially because of notice given, by Mr. Dixon, of Kentucky, that when the bill came up he should move, as an amendment to it, that so much of the eighth section of an act, approved March 6, 1820, entitled "An act to authorize the people of the Missouri territory to form a constitution and State government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to prohibit slavery in certain territories,' as declares, 'That, in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be forever prohibited,' *shall not be so construed as to apply to territory contemplated by this act, or to any other territory of the United States;* but that the citizens of the several States or territories shall be at liberty to take and hold their slaves within any of the territories or States to be formed therefrom, as if the said act, entitled as aforesaid, and approved as aforesaid, had never been passed."

Mr. Douglas reported his new bill January 23d, 1854. It differed so much from the previous bill that it hardly resembled it, save that it contemplated the same region of country. Its essential feature was that it embodied the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

CHAPTER VI.

NEBRASKA BILL—ORIGIN OF MISSOURI COMPROMISE—INJUSTICE OF ITS REPEAL—ACTION OF SENATOR DOUGLAS—THOMAS F. MARSHALL, OF KENTUCKY—ENLISTING UNDER THE BANNER OF REPEAL.

THE introduction of the Nebraska bill into the Senate by Senator Douglas was the inauguration of a grand political era. The hearts of all the people were stirred. Mass conventions were held throughout the North; old political differences were obliterated; old parties were disintegrating and new parties were forming for the new issues that were coming before the people. Of the Nebraska bill, Mr. Colfax thus wrote in the *Register* at that time:

THE NEBRASKA BILL.

"Thirty years had passed away after the adoption of the Federal Constitution before the first serious struggle between the North and the South agitated the country. Louisiana had been peacefully acquired from France; and that part of it known as the State of Louisiana had been peacefully admitted as a slave State without question or conflict. At the earliest period, 1808, when Congress could constitutionally prohibit the slave trade, it had done so; and instead of its former acquiescence in its horrors, had placed it under the ban of the law as piracy. Legislation on both sides of the slavery question had been tranquilly enacted. But when Missouri,

all of whose territory was north of 36° 30′, applied for admission as a slave State, the whole North with one voice said 'No.' During two sessions her claim for admission was resisted by almost a geographical vote; the North, being a majority, voting against it, and the South, the minority, for it. The public excitement increased as the discussion was prolonged. Every Northern State, through its Legislature, protested against its admission; the South complained with bitterness that their rights were assailed, and the Union rocked to its centre. At last, Henry Clay, anxious for peace, proposed, as a compromise, that Missouri should be admitted with her slave constitution, but that in the remainder of the territory acquired from France, stretching over what were then considered desert plains, to the crests of the Rocky Mountains, slavery should be forever prohibited. It was no wonder that the South joyfully acceded to this. A few Northern members, wearied out with the prolonged contest, joined them and secured its passage by a close vote. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, William Wirt, of Virginia, and William H. Crawford, of Georgia, gave to the President written opinions in favor of the constitutionality of the bill; and James Monroe, a Virginia President, affixed to it his signature. The South were victors of the sharply-contested battle-field. They obtained all the then present advantage; while the share of the North in the compromise was to be enjoyed perhaps twenty, perhaps fifty, perhaps not till one hundred years afterward. The South rejoiced—the North mourned—but the contest was over.

"For thirty-four years this compromise has been held sacred. During that long term, longer than the existence of a generation of men, the South has enjoyed, without

fear of molestation, the great benefit which she gained by its passage. Missouri's slaveholding delegations in both Houses have assisted in shaping the legislation of the country—her votes aided to pass the Compromise Measures of 1850—on one or two of them, her members turned the doubtful scale against the North, and her number of slaves has increased from ten thousand to eighty-seven thousand. Propositions of various kinds have been made, during that time, to amend the Constitution, but no statesman, no Senator, no Congressman, no President, from the North or the South, has ever proposed an amendment to the Missouri Compromise, in any of its features; much less its abrogation or repeal. It was considered a compact which the plighted faith of the South required should be faithfully fulfilled. They had secured by it a State, having an equal vote in the Senate with the teeming millions of New York's population. The North, as its share, had obtained only an unpeopled territory, with no voice or vote in the National Councils.

"At last, a Senator representing a *free* State, though said to be the owner of a plantation in a Southern one —Senator Douglas, of Illinois—proclaims himself the champion in the United States Senate of a bill for the organization of this vast territory, extending from the borders of Missouri and Iowa to the boundaries of California, Oregon, and Utah, which declares that this sacred, time-honored compact is null and void—that it is inconsistent with the principles of the Compromise of 1850, and is therefore abrogated—and, we regret to say, this unjust act is certain to pass the Senate, and almost certain to pass the House by a large majority. Trampling under foot the noble invocation of the states-

man-philosopher, Benjamin Franklin, to the first American Congress—'Step to the very verge of power vested in you to discourage every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men'—an American Congress, in this noon of the nineteenth century, prepares the way for the entrance of slavery, with all its blight and evil, into a vast expanse of territory, larger in its area than all the free States of the Republic, before the admission of California. And this, too, at the sacrifice of honor and of plighted faith.

"A single paragraph will suffice to show the fallacy of the weak subterfuge, under the cover of which the slavery-prohibition of the Missouri Compromise is sought to be repealed. The Territorial Compromises (Utah, New Mexico, etc.) passed in 1850. During all the debates upon them, not the slightest whisper was heard of any intention thereby to repeal the Missouri Compromise. No speaker, no committee, no report, no press took that ground then or since. In no discussions upon the subject afterwards was it ever adduced by friend or foe. Every one understood that the Compromise of 1850 related to the territory acquired from Mexico, not to the territory legislated upon in 1820, which had been acquired from France. Three years *after* 1850, no longer ago than last March, Senator Douglas himself urged upon Congress the passage of a bill, already adopted by the House, for organizing Nebraska, which was silent on the slavery question, silent on the repeal or supersedure of the Missouri Compromise. In his speech he never even hinted that the Freedom clause of that Compromise had been in the slightest degree affected by the legislation of 1850, nor did any other Senator. On the contrary, Senator Atchison, of Missouri, now the acting Vice-

President of the United States in the Senate, in his speech, March 3d, 1853, declared that he had thought of opposing the bill, but that he saw 'no prospect, no hope of a repeal of the Missouri Compromise,' that 'that great error was *irremediable*,' and that 'we might therefore as well agree to the admission of this territory now as next year, or five or ten years hence!' (Cong. Globe, Vol. 26, p. 1,112). And no Senator, not even Douglas, rose to inform him that it had been superseded three years before. Not even the Washington *Union*, with its eyes so intent on the interests of slavery, ever discovered this alleged repeal, until Senator Douglas, in his bid for the Presidency, avowed it as the pretext for his recreancy to the interests of freedom.

"Nay, more. At the opening of the present session, Senator Dodge, of Iowa, now one of Douglas' followers, introduced a Nebraska bill, copied from the one of last session, again silent on slavery, and Douglas himself, in reporting on it from the Committee on Territories, on the 4th of January, though desiring and intending to open the door to slavery, dared not then declare the Compromise repealed. He said, on the contrary, that as the framers of the Compromise of 1850 deemed it 'wise and prudent' not to attempt, in their bills, to decide that the Mexican anti-slavery laws were in force or abrogated, so he deemed it equally wise and prudent not to affirm that the Missouri Compromise was or was not in force in Nebraska. But the South asked more than this; if his bid was to be considered by them at all. Accordingly, on the 10th of January, another section was added to the bill, declaring that all slavery questions should be left to the settlers in the territory, which would certainly be a virtual repeal of the decla-

ration in the Missouri Compromise, that 'slavery should be forever prohibited' there. Still the South asked more. There were fears that this might not be sufficient. And on the 23d of January, Mr. Douglas offered a new bill, which, in the very teeth of his report, made but nineteen days previously, declared that 'the Missouri Compromise *was* superseded by the principles of the Compromise of 1850, and is therefore declared inoperative,' language which he has again changed since, so as to read that it is 'inconsistent' therewith, and therefore null and void. And this bill is, in all probability, to become the law of the land.

"We pass over, for want of space, the point raised by the opponents of the bill, and already alluded to and explained in our columns, that the very language of one of the Compromise acts of 1850, affirms the spirit of the Missouri Compromise relative to the absolute prohibition of slavery north of 36° 30′, and will make a brief comment on the doctrine of popular sovereignty, which the friends of the bill pretend to defend.

"It is republican, says Senator Douglas, to let the people of the territory legislate on their institutions for themselves; it is unconstitutional to restrict them by such a prohibition as was contained in Mr. Clay's Compromise of 1850. The answer is a plain one. Congress, by the national Constitution, is their supreme legislature, clothed even with the power of dissenting from the acts of a territorial legislature on the merest local questions. And the Constitution itself vests in Congress, in the most explicit language, the authority 'to make *all* needful rules and regulations respecting the territories.' If it is so anti-republican for Congress to regulate their institutions until they become matured into States, why

does not Senator Douglas give them the power to elect their own governor by their own votes? Why does he provide that their judges, who have power over their property and lives, shall be appointed by the President and Senate, instead of being selected by themselves? Why have they not a right, through representatives, to votes on the floor of both branches of Congress, especially on questions affecting their own local interests? Why cannot they pass their own laws, unfettered by the reserved privilege of Congress to reject or annul them? Simply, because Congress is their higher legislature, possessing the same power over them that State legislatures have within their appropriate limits. If the latter can abolish slavery in their respective States, if they deem it expedient or needful, so equally may Congress prohibit slavery in the territories of the United States, whenever they may deem that prohibition a just and 'needful rule and regulation.' The point seems too plain a one to be contested.

"Slavery does not now exist on a single foot of Nebraska soil. There may be a few slaves there, as there may be also a few whisky-sellers to the Indians, in spite of the absolute prohibition against both. And when the question comes up, whether this great evil is to be allowed to darken that great basin of our country, between our present frontier and the Rocky Mountains, soon to be densely peopled, with all the accessories of Anglo-Saxon civilization, with growing cities springing up in its valleys, with busy manufactories on the margin of its streams, with the spires of churches and the sight of numerous school-houses gladdening the eye, with long trains of railroad cars bearing the commerce of the world, rushing eastward and westward on their iron

tracks, we *should* have, all of us, but one answer to give. Regard for honor and good faith should impel the South, and regard for freedom and liberty should compel the North, to remember and to heed the language of that eloquent Kentuckian, Thomas F. Marshall, when, in 1840, he warred with the Wickliffes on the question of the prohibition of further slave importation into Kentucky:

"'I have said that I consider negro slavery as a political misfortune. The phrase was too mild. It is a cancer—a withering pestilence, an unmitigated curse. I speak not in the spirit of a puling and false philanthropy. I was born in a slave State. I was nursed by a slave. My life has been saved by a slave. To me custom has made the relation familiar, and I see nothing horrible in it. I am a Virginian by descent. Every cross in my blood, so far as I can trace it, in the paternal and maternal line, is Virginian. It is the only State of the Union in which I ever resided, save Kentucky. I was never north of Chesapeake bay. My friends, my family, my sympathies, my habits, my education, are Virginian. Yet I consider negro slavery as a political cancer and a curse. And she taught me so to consider it. Hear her own early declaration—ponder on her history—look at her present condition.'

"Whatever others may do, when Congress, seduced by Executive patronage and trammelled by political dictation, forgetful of plighted faith, passes this bill, we enlist under the banner of Repeal. Whether successful or defeated, we will go with the opponents of this bill before the people, on an appeal to them from the recreancy of their representatives. Oh! that Henry Clay, the author of this Compromise, now scouted from the councils of our country, were living this day to lead on this

conflict. But, if the grave had not closed upon him, the men who twice appealed to him to settle agitation by compromise, even at the hazard of his own prospects and popularity, would not have dared to lay their finger on this, which, if undisturbed, would have proved, in its final result, the noblest act of his eventful career. But in what a position does this place us? When foreigners reproach us with the dark shadow that American slavery casts on our National escutcheon, its inconsistency with our eulogies on freedom, etc., our ready excuse is, 'The institution existed here before our birth as a nation; it is under the control of States, who think they cannot abolish it without risk of great evil.' But here is a vast territory yet unpeopled. It lies before Congress, like the mind of an infant child before its parents, ready to receive good or evil impressions. Thus far it has been protected by a solemn compact of our fathers against the footsteps of the slave; and they declared, the North and the South in council together, that this protection should exist '*forever*.' That never, while time had an existence, and Congress had an authority over it, should the clank of the slave's fetters or the crack of the overseer's lash be heard within its limits. But though our National laws condemn the importation of slaves into our borders as piracy, and hang the men engaged in it as worse than murderers, statesmen from the North and South join now with each other to break down the wall of prohibition, which Henry Clay proposed, which the South built, which Monroe and Calhoun, Wirt and Crawford, approved, to make plighted faith but a byword, and fidelity to freedom a reproach. For one, we wash our hands of it, now and forever."

CHAPTER VII.

FINAL PASSAGE OF NEBRASKA BILL—EARNEST PROTEST —REFUSAL OF NOMINATION TO CONGRESS IN 1852— ACCEPTANCE UPON THE NEBRASKA ISSUE IN 1854— THE MAJORITY OF 1776—THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS —UNRIVALLED CONTEST FOR SPEAKER—WORTH OF PARLIAMENTARY SKILL—N. P. BANKS, SPEAKER.

Upon the final passage of the Nebraska bill, three months afterwards, Mr. Colfax thus wrote:

"The conspirators against freedom are triumphant. At the fitting hour of midnight, on Monday last, in the House of Representatives, the Nebraska bill passed by a majority of thirteen, and the heart of our continent is thrown open for the free and unrestricted admission of slavery. The compact made by the second generation of American freemen in 1820, whereby that vast region between the Mississippi Valley and the Rocky Mountains, dedicated to liberty forever, has been ruthlessly abrogated by the representatives of their successors, and the South to-day repudiates what it forced upon the North and bound it to but yesterday.

"For one—whatever others may do—we shall neither recommend nor practise submission to this outrage. The North was forced into the Missouri Compromise in 1820, and quietly acquiesced. The South took Missouri and Arkansas as slave States, as their share of the bargain, and the North waited patiently thirty-four years for the maturing of its portion. In 1850 the South forced the North again into another compromise, some of the features of which were made specially and, we

believe, purposely distasteful and repulsive to her citizens; and again she acquiesced. After having tested her submissive powers by forcing her into compromises, the new policy is resolved upon of forcing her *out of* those which do not seem calculated to enure to the benefit of slavery. The Arabs say, 'It is the last ounce that breaks the camel's back;' and we believe that this last attempt is destined to prove that the North is not to be ridden over rough-shod hereafter—that, in a word, *there is now a North!* But whatever others may resolve upon, we, for one, go back now to the policy of our Revolutionary forefathers—of Jefferson, who strove to dedicate every foot of the territories of the nation to eternal and irrepealable freedom—to the statesman-philosopher Franklin, who earnestly petitioned the first Congress 'that you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men.' We go back to the platform of the united North in 1819, (would that it had *never* been departed from,) when the Legislatures of every Northern State declared that no new State should be admitted in any quarter of the republic on any pretext whatever which tolerates or sanctions the institution of slavery."

This was a bold declaration for fourteen years ago.

In 1852 Mr. Colfax had been tendered the nomination to Congress by the Whigs of his district, but he positively refused to accept it. The district at that election gave twelve hundred Democratic majority; a Democratic increase since his canvass of one thousand. Dr. Norman Eddy, of South Bend, and fellow-townsman of Mr. Colfax, had been the successful candidate. As a Free Soil Democrat, he had carried the district by

this large majority. Dr. Eddy returned home on a visit while the Nebraska bill was still pending in Congress. While at home he was strongly urged by friends and neighbors to oppose the Nebraska bill. Among those who thus solicited him was Mr. Colfax. To have followed such a course would undoubtedly have secured Dr. Eddy's return to Congress by an overwhelming majority, and among the most earnest and efficient laborers for his re-election would have been Mr. Colfax. But Dr. Eddy voted for the Nebraska bill. In August, 1854, a People's Convention of all opposed to the principles of the Nebraska bill was called, to nominate a candidate for Congress. It was the largest convention that had ever been held in the district. Mr. Colfax was unanimously nominated as its candidate for Congress, and Dr. Eddy was nominated by the Democracy for re-election. The last of August they began their joint canvass and went over the district together, discussing the great question of the day before all the people. The result was that Mr. Colfax was elected by the memorable majority of *seventeen hundred and seventy-six,* although Dr. Eddy had carried the district in his previous canvass by about twelve hundred majority.

According to the Constitutional provision, the Thirty-fourth Congress met on the first Monday of December, 1855. A majority of the members elected were opposed to the administration and its measures. The opposition, however, was divided. It consisted of Republicans, Anti-Nebraska Democrats and Native Americans. As the result proved, it was easier for the Native Americans and Democrats to form a coalition on pro-slavery grounds than it was for the Native Americans to unite with the Anti-Nebraska men in opposition to the admin-

istration. The Anti-Nebraska men felt that it was all-important for them to secure the election of the Speaker. Unless they elected the presiding officer of the House, who through the appointment of the committees wielded so great a power over the legislation of the country, they knew by experience that the committees would be so constituted that no reports favorable to the rights of the North would be made, and could not consequently be brought before the House for its consideration. The Anti-Nebraska men therefore determined not to yield the Speakership, as it was the citadel of their hopes, but to prolong the contest for it until they were successful. The contest was unparalleled. It continued for two months. In it, none perhaps contributed more to its successful issue than Mr. Colfax, by his quickness of perception and readiness in parliamentary knowledge. After the contest had been prolonged for several weeks, Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, who had been for a time in nomination for the Speaker's chair, without consulting with his friends, offered a resolution that Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, should be invited to preside temporarily until a Speaker should be elected. The Republican members with but few exceptions looked upon the resolution with great alarm. They argued that if Mr. Orr was once in the chair of the Speaker, it was more than probable that he would remain there permanently. A motion to lay Mr. Campbell's resolution on the table was lost. There was a majority of twenty against tabling the resolution, and it seemed as if the South Carolinian would in a few minutes take possession of the Speaker's chair. At this juncture, Mr. Colfax, with consummate parliamentary skill and wisdom, proposed an amendment to Mr. Campbell's resolution. It was to put the

three parties that were endeavoring to elect a Speaker upon an equality, by allowing each to select a temporary Chairman, the persons thus selected to preside alternately as they should mutually agree. This amendment of Mr. Colfax irresistibly suggests, says Mrs. Stowe, the device of Hushai by which the counsel of Ahithophel was defeated. Upon this amendment discussion sprung up, and the House took a recess without any vote on either the resolution or amendment. The next morning Mr. Campbell, yielding to the appeals of his friends, withdrew his resolution. There was freer breathing on the Republican side of the House, when this peril was past. More than a month longer the contest continued. It was the first week in February when the end of the strife came. N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts, upon the one hundred and thirty-fourth ballot, was elected and declared Speaker of the Thirty-fourth Congress, and the Republican banner waved in triumph over the Speaker's chair

CHAPTER VIII.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE—CLOSING SCENES OF THE LONG CONTEST—HAPPY RESULT—LETTER FROM MR. COLFAX IN REPLY TO AN INVITATION TO ADDRESS THE REPUBLICANS OF NEW YORK CITY—A GOLDEN TRUTH.

THE editorial correspondence of Mr. Colfax is of permanent historical value for the vivid and accurate sketches from life, of men and scenes connected with this great contest. The last letter of this series is here given:

"WASHINGTON, *February* 6, 1856.

"The electric wires have long since flashed the news over our whole Union that the protracted struggle for Speaker has resulted in a glorious victory for freedom, and that Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, presides over the House of Representatives. But though this letter will be old news, so far as that event is concerned, it may be expected of me that I should give some of the closing scenes of this unprecedented contest.

"During the latter part of last week, it was evident that the wall of partition between the Democrats and the South Americans was to be broken down, that a fusion of Administration and Southern Know Nothing members was to take place on some candidate acceptable to both parties, and that this combined array was to elect a Speaker, if possible. On Thursday, therefore, when a proposition was read by Mr. Trippe, of Georgia, (Know Nothing,) to elect Mr. Smith, of Virginia, it was rejected by but ten majority—ayes, one hundred; noes, one hundred and ten; and on Friday, when Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, the chairman of the Democratic caucus, ignored both the party nomination and the platform by offering Mordecai Oliver, of Missouri, an old-line Whig, who had voted for Richardson and Orr on pro-slavery grounds, but had never participated in their caucuses, the nomination polled one hundred and one votes. A subsequent resolution to elect Mr. Banks polled one hundred and three votes, when W. R. W. Cobb, of Alabama, proposed for Speaker Governor Aiken, of South Carolina, the largest slaveholder in the House, said to own one thousand three hundred negroes, and to be worth a million of dollars. He had never participated in any Democratic caucus, did not stand on their platform, and

was understood not to be hostile to Southern Know Nothings. Mr. Orr, the Democratic nominee, rose and gave in his adhesion to the proposition, earnestly urging Governor Aiken's election. The vote being taken, the two parties opposed to the Republicans, combined nearly their entire vote upon him, and he polled one hundred and three votes, lacking but four of an election. The House immediately adjourned, and all felt that the struggle was to end the next day.

"That night Washington city was full of excitement. Some of Mr. Banks' friends felt dispirited, and feared defeat, as Governor Aiken's vote had risen one vote higher than theirs; but the great bulk stood firm, and by ten o'clock it was unanimously decided that the colors should be nailed to the mast.

"Saturday morning the galleries and all the passages to the Representative hall were crowded long before the hour of meeting. As soon as the journal was read, the plurality rule was adopted, and the three ballots, which were to precede the final and decisive vote, were taken. Then the Clerk commenced slowly calling the roll of names for the one hundred and thirty-fourth vote for Speaker, on which the candidate receiving the *highest* number of votes was to be declared elected. The opposition were sanguine of electing Governor Aiken; but the Republicans *knew* that Mr Banks would be chosen. The response of every anti-Banks member was listened to with manifest interest, as well as anxiety, on all sides; and many, as they voted, took occasion to explain the reasons for their support of Aiken.

"At last the roll-call was completed. When all the names had been called through, Banks had one hundred and three votes, and Aiken ninety-three; but the rules

allow members to change their votes or record their names at any time before the result is announced; and amid considerable excitement, member after member, who had voted for Fuller, rose, and changed to Aiken. His vote ran up to ninety-four, ninety-five, ninety-six, ninety-seven, ninety-eight, ninety-nine, one hundred, and there it stopped, exactly where we supposed it would, while there were three more votes that Mr. Banks could have obtained, if necessary, to defeat the South Carolina candidate.

"Before the result could be announced, Mr. Cox, an Aiken man, moved to adjourn, which was not in order; but Mr. Benson, of Maine, one of the tellers, instantly rose, and, with a loud voice, declared the number of votes cast for each candidate, and announced that, in conformity with the resolution adopted by the House, authorizing a plurality to elect on this ballot, N. P. Banks, Jr., a Representative from Massachusetts, was elected Speaker of the Thirty-fourth Congress. The scene that followed this defies description. Not a Representative remained in his seat. The ladies, who had been sitting in the gallery for seven long hours, exultingly waved their handkerchiefs, and from hall and gallery rang forth most enthusiastic applause, mingled with hisses from those who did not approve of the result. When order was restored, Mr. Rust and Mr. A. K. Marshall insisted that Mr. Banks was not yet elected; that a majority vote was necessary to confirm it. But Governor Aiken promptly rose, and asked permission to conduct the Speaker elect to the chair, and Messrs. Cobb, Clingman and Jones, and other Democrats, insisted that the election was legal, and it was confirmed by a vote of one hundred and fifty-five to forty. Mr. Banks was then

conducted to the chair; delivered a brief and happily-conceived inaugural; was sworn in by Mr. Giddings, the oldest member; and the House adjourned.

"The scattering votes were six for Mr. Fuller, four for Mr. Campbell, cast by Messrs. Dunn, Scott, Moore, and Harrison, and one cast by Mr. Wells, of Wisconsin, for Mr. Hickman of Pennsylvania. Two members who were present did not vote. The vote for Mr. Aiken showed the following singular compound: Orr and Humphrey Marshall, who made an elaborate anti-Catholic speech last winter, and John Kelly, a member of the Catholic church, Howell Cobb and Percy Walker, Glancy Jones and Trippe, A. H. Stephens and Zollicoffer, and so on through. But the coalition, though a strong one, did not win.

"I have but little room for any extended comment on this result, so auspicious to the cause of freedom. Six years ago, when the Fugitive Slave Law first came into this House, there was a decided majority opposed to it; but one after another, during the two months it was pending, 'conquered their prejudices,' and it finally passed. So also two years ago, when the Nebraska bill was first reported to the House, a majority were opposed to it; but in a month or so it was carried. *Now*, I rejoice to say, the aspect of affairs is far different. For two months the Republicans have stood fast by their cause and their candidate, and have come out of this protracted contest as strong and united as they went in, and what is better still, victorious besides. We have heard for weeks that the Union would be dissolved if Banks was elected; but he is sitting in the Speaker's chair as I write, presiding over the House, as if it had been the business of his life, and the Union yet survives.

Southern men acknowledge frankly that when a Speaker is elected without a solitary Southern vote, and over the opposition of three parties in the North, it is indeed a victory won by inflexible persistence and unyielding backbone."

While at Washington, during his first term of service as Congressman, Mr. Colfax received invitations to attend several important political meetings in the neighboring cities of the East. Duty constrained him to remain at his post in Washington. To one of these invitations to address his fellow-citizens of New York city upon the political issues of the day, he wrote the following reply:

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
"WASHINGTON, *April* 22, 1856.

"GENTLEMEN:—It would afford me more than ordinary pleasure if I were able to respond to the complimentary invitation you have tendered me, to address the friends of freedom of my native city; but public duties prevent, and I can be with you therefore only in spirit—not in person.

"But a few days less than sixty-seven years ago, the Father of our Country, in your very city, and in the presence of your citizens, took that solemn oath of office which made him first President of the United States. And as he looked abroad over the republic, which he was thenceforth to aid in governing and protecting, as he had before in establishing, his clear eye could not have failed to see that *in every acre of the national territory outside the limits of the States, slavery was expressly prohibited and excluded.* No regret for

these enactments ever fell from his lips, for he had himself, six years before, declared himself averse to the institution, and in favor of its abolition; and ten years later, on that death-bed, which tests the sincerity of mortal professions, he most solemnly enjoined upon his executors that his instructions for the ultimate emancipation of his slaves should be, to use his own impressively anxious words, 'religiously fulfilled, without evasion, neglect or delay.' He, whose right arm had so essentially aided in achieving the liberties we now enjoy, and in consummating our independence by the Union which followed, never appeared to realize that, in order to secure the equality of the States, 'those continental prohibitions against slavery extension should be declared inoperative and void,' and the absolute right of the slaveholder to emigrate into our territories with his human property, enforced and upheld by Presidents, legislators and judges; and I confess that, even in these latter days of discoveries like these, I prefer to follow in the footsteps of the revolutionary fathers, and to profit by their example, rather than to be dazzled by the new lights of the present age.

"It is eminently fitting, therefore, that the National Committee, in summoning the opponents of slavery extension together at Philadelphia, should remind the country, as they have in their call, that their purpose is to restore the government to the policy of Washington and Jefferson, its most illustrious founders; that instead of being 'abolitionists,' we do not even go as far as they did, when the one in 1783 and 1786, and the other in 1774, declared themselves in favor of the abolition of slavery in States where it then existed; and that we only strive to bring back our national territories to

the same free condition that existed in similar organizations on the 30th of April, 1789. This is a work in which all patriots can harmoniously unite. It is one which the imminence of the present crisis (when the slave-power demands an absolute reversal of the revolutionary precedent, and that all territory shall be slave, not free) *forces* upon the country as paramount to all other issues. And if any one fails to recognize that it *is* the overshadowing question of the day, which must be settled before and above all other questions, in one way or another, in favor of liberty or of slavery, by the policy of Washington or of Douglas—the fact that in its presence the bands of old party organizations snap like brittle threads, and are consumed like flax, ought to be sufficient to convince him that the great mass of the people recognize it as *the* issue of the times, and are already preparing for its final settlement at that court of last resort with American freemen—the ballot-box.

"You have not failed to notice that the opening of the present Congress was signalized by the preliminary struggle of this conflict. I will not weary you by alluding to the fact that your representatives here exhibited *their* realizing sense of the magnitude of the contest by standing firm through a prolonged parliamentary struggle, unexampled in history, and which could be vindicated only by an overpowering conviction of duty and of right. I need only say, that, at last, after a faithful persistence of months, with ranks as full to the end as when they entered on the contest, a victory for freedom and justice crowned their labors. It remains for you and the people at large to say whether this auspicious success shall be followed up and consummated in the national canvass, which is just opening, by

a triumph of free labor as well as free principles, peaceful in its character, patriotic in its objects, republican in its results. With a man of firmness, as well as of patriotism in the presidential chair, the government will be restored to the policy of its fathers; and the slanders of our opponents will be disproved by his vindicating the eternal truth of our American Magna Charta on the one hand, while opposing all unconstitutional interference with the rights of the slave States on the other. With the country thus happily and justly governed, it cannot fail to go on in a career of prosperity, development and wealth, which freedom will be certain to bring in its train, until the efforts now making to blot out the example of our forefathers, and to extend the dominion of human bondage, shall be looked upon from the clearer stand-point of the Hereafter with wonder and regret by all.

"In this noble work, with such happy results as must inevitably flow from your labors, you need no words of encouragement from me. With union and concord, you cannot fail. The principles upon which we stand cannot but command success when the public mind is concentrated on this great issue. Politicians in the Senate may clamor in regard to 'the equality of the States,' which no man denies. But the people will regard it as a higher and nobler principle that we vindicate in our policy, *the equality of the American freeman;* and that we demand, as one of the 'needful rules and regulations for the territory of the United States,' which Congress is expressly authorized by the Constitution to enact, that the territories shall be so organized, as in 1789, that all of our citizens, from whatever clime they may come, or whatever may be their pecuniary condition,

shall have equal rights in their settlement; and that no institution shall prevail in them which shall degrade American labor and press down the mechanic, the day-laborer, the road-builder, or the worker in the fields, towards the social condition of the Southern slave. In a word, that it shall be the first duty of the Government to see to it, that, wherever it has constitutional authority, LABOR, the primal element of American prosperity, shall be honored, elevated and protected. Then the true policy of the founders of the republic will be vindicated by their successors. And then, as the vanguard of Anglo-Saxon civilization pushes forward and takes possession of the wide-spread territories of the West, ever beneath the folds of the national banner, as it greets the morning breeze and reflects the setting sun, the great central truth of the Declaration of Independence shall be recognized and avowed—that all men are endowed by their Creator with liberty, and that it is one of the highest aims and noblest duties of government to protect this God-given and inalienable right, wherever it possesses the power.

"*Very truly yours,*

"SCHUYLER COLFAX."

One sentence of this letter is an ingot of golden truth. As a motto it should be emblazoned on the political banners of the land. It should forever gleam there in undimming brightness. "*Labor, the primal element of American prosperity, shall be honored, elevated and protected.*" This is no narrow creed. It is the sentiment of a heart, that has known the straitened circumstances of poverty, that has known the necessities of toil, and that is all alive with sympathy for honest, hard-handed industry.

CHAPTER IX.

SPEECH OF MR. COLFAX UPON "THE BOGUS LAWS OF KANSAS"—ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS—HOLDING THE BALL AND CHAIN—RENOMINATED FOR CONGRESS—RE-ELECTED—ELECTION OF MR. BUCHANAN PREDICTED.

DURING this session of Congress Mr. Colfax made a speech upon "the bogus laws of Kansas," which stamped him as one of the most effective Congressional orators. This speech was extensively circulated as a campaign document in the Presidential contest of the same year. It was placed in every house in Connecticut by the earnest Republicans of that State. More than half a million copies of it were scattered over the country. Among the laws, which in that speech Mr. Colfax unearthed, was one providing a ball and chain as a reward for free speech if exercised in denouncing slavery. Mr. Colfax caused such a ball to be procured, and at the desired moment, it was brought upon the floor, and he held it up, as he spoke, the splendid ornament devised for a free people. Alexander H. Stephens, who sat near, and who, being on the same Committee with Mr. Colfax, was intimate with him, asked him for the ball, as if to test its weight. Having satisfied his curiosity, he offered to return it; but Mr. Colfax, looking down upon him with a smile, requested him to hold it, until he finished his speech, and Mr. Stephens complied. "That globe of iron," said one, speaking of the scene after two years of the rebellion had passed, "was a locket of fine gold to the mill-stone that the reluctant, nerveless Vice-President of rebels hung about his neck."

We add the following extract from the speech:

"In such a state of affairs as this, to talk of going to the polls and having the laws repealed is worse than a mockery. It is an insult. It is like binding a man hand and foot, throwing him into the river, and telling him to swim to the shore and he will be saved. It is like loading a man with irons, and then telling him to run for his life. The only relief possible, if Kansas is not promptly admitted as a State, which I hope may be effected, is in a change of the administration and of the party that so recklessly misrules the land; and that will furnish an effectual relief.

"As I look, sir, to the smiling valleys and fertile plains of Kansas, and witness there the sorrowful scenes of civil war, in which, when forbearance at last ceased to be a virtue, the Free State men of the territory felt it necessary, deserted as they were by their Government, to defend their lives, their families, their property, and their hearthstones, the language of one of the noblest statesmen of the age, uttered six years ago at the other end of this Capitol, rises before my mind. I allude to the great statesman of Kentucky, Henry Clay. And while the party, which, while he lived, lit the torch of slander at every avenue of private life, and libelled him before the American people by every epithet that renders man infamous, as a gambler, debauchee, traitor, and enemy of his country, are now engaged in shedding fictitious tears over his grave, and appealing to his old supporters to aid by their votes in shielding them from the indignation of an uprisen people, I ask them to read this language of his, which comes to us as from his tomb to-day. With the change of but a single geographical word in the place of 'Mexico,' how prophetically does

it apply to the very scenes and issues of this year! And who can doubt with what party he would stand in the coming campaign, if he were restored to us from the damps of the grave, when they read the following which fell from his lips in 1850, and with which, thanking the House for its attention, I conclude my remarks.

"'But if, unhappily, we should be involved in war, in civil war, between the two parties of this Confederacy, in which the effort upon the one side should be to restrain the introduction of slavery into the new territories, and upon the other side to force its introduction there, what a spectacle should we present to the astonishment of mankind, in an effort not to propagate rights, but—I must say it, though I trust it will be understood to be said with no design to excite feeling—a war to propagate wrongs in the territories thus acquired from Mexico. It would be a war in which we would have no sympathies, no good wishes—in which all mankind would be against us; for, from the commencement of the Revolution down to the present time, we have constantly reproached our British ancestors for the introduction of slavery into this country.'"

In July, 1856, the Republicans of the Ninth Congressional District of Indiana again met in convention to nominate a candidate for Congress. It was usual to open with an informal ballot for the nominee. But the manner in which Mr. Colfax had discharged his duty in Congress had met with so warm and cordial an approval, and the enthusiasm in his behalf was so great, that this routine action was forestalled, and Mr. Colfax was renominated by acclamation. An eye-witness wrote: "The spontaneous, prolonged and enthusiastic shouts of applause which arose from all that vast

assemblage at the motion to nominate him by acclamation, dispensing with a formal ballot as tame and superfluous, declared, more emphatically than language could do, that Schuyler Colfax, in himself and in the principles which he so ably and faithfully represents, has a deep and firm hold on the affections of a freedom-loving constituency. That the people will give him a still more emphatic endorsement on the second Tuesday of October next, by sending him back by an overwhelming majority, we have not the least doubt."

Returning home upon the adjournment of Congress, after its long session, protracted, notwithstanding the impending Presidential election, to the last of August, he immediately entered upon the canvass of the district in company with his competitor, Judge W. Z. Stuart, of Logansport. The emphatic endorsement that had been predicted for Mr. Colfax on the second Tuesday of October was given, and he was again triumphantly elected, notwithstanding the national triumph of the Buchanan and Breckenridge ticket.

This reverse Mr. Colfax had expected and distinctly foretold as the result of the third or American party movement, headed by Mr. Fillmore. Immediately subsequent to the nomination of Mr. Fillmore, which was several months previous to the nomination of the National Republican Convention, he wrote: "Whether the Republican ticket shall be successful or defeated this year, the duty to support it, to proclaim and defend its principles, to arm the conscience of the nation, is none the less incumbent. It is a movement based on justice and right, consecrated to freedom, commended by the teachings of our Revolutionary Fathers, and demanded by the extraordinary events in our recent history. And

though its triumphs may be delayed by divisions, nothing is more certain to my mind, even while breathing the atmosphere of this city, where slavery reigns supreme in every place except the Speaker's chair, than that the day is not far distant when outside of State limits that institution shall be, as when the Constitution was adopted, seventy years ago, prohibited and condemned in all the territories in the Union."

CHAPTER X.

LECOMPTON CONVENTION—LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION—SENATE ACCEPTS IT—OPPOSITION OF SENATOR DOUGLAS—HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES REJECTS LECOMPTON—COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE—PROPOSITION SUBMITTED TO KANSAS—PROPOSITION REJECTED—SPEECH OF MR. COLFAX IN BEHALF OF KANSAS—INTERESTING LETTER.

THE pro-slavery Legislature of Kansas, that had been chosen by Missouri invaders instead of the actual settlers, called a constitutional convention in 1857. This convention met at Lecompton on the first Monday of September. It formed a pro-slavery constitution, which was submitted to the people at an election held on the 21st of December following. But the strange thing in this election was, that no one was allowed to vote against this constitution. The vote was to be taken "For the constitution, *with* slavery," or, "For the constitution, *without* slavery;" no other votes to be allowed or counted. The following return was made: For the constitution,

with slavery, 6,266; for the constitution, without slavery, 567. An election, however, had been held on the first Monday in October for a Territorial Legislature, under the bogus laws. Governor Walker had given assurances to the Free State men, which caused them to attend the polls. The Free State preponderance was so decided that it carried the Legislature. This Legislature, whose legality was unquestioned, passed an act submitting the Lecompton constitution to the vote of the people, for or against it, on the 4th of January, 1858. At this election the Lecompton constitution was rejected by over ten thousand majority against it. But when the Thirty-fifth Congress assembled at Washington, on the 7th of December, 1857, and was organized by the election of Mr. Orr, of South Carolina, as Speaker, President Buchanan, in his annual message, as well as in a special message, urged Congress to accept and ratify the Lecompton constitution. The Senate passed a bill accepting this constitution. Senator Douglas, however, took strong grounds against it. The House adopted a substitute, prepared by Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, and proposed in the House by Mr. Montgomery, a Douglas Democrat, from Pennsylvania. This substitute required a resubmission of the constitution to the people of Kansas, under such provisions and precautions as would secure a fair vote. It was adopted by the House by a majority of eight. The Senate did not concur, and asked for a committee of conference. On motion of Mr. English, of Indiana, who had previously acted with the Douglas Democrats, a committee of conference was granted by a majority of one, the vote being one hundred and nine yeas to one hundred and eight nays. The bill reported from the conference committee proposed a submission

to the people of Kansas of a proposition on the part of Congress to limit and curtail the grants of public lands and other advantages stipulated in behalf of said State in the Lecompton constitution; and in case of their voting to reject said proposition, then a new convention was to be held, and a new constitution framed. This bill passed both Houses; and under it the people of Kansas, on the third of August, voted, by an overwhelming majority, to reject the proposition, which was, in effect, to reject the Lecompton constitution.

Mr. Colfax was one of the acknowledged leaders in opposition to the Lecompton iniquity, as the administration measure for the admission of Kansas as a slave State was commonly designated. The following remarks are the peroration of a speech made by Mr. Colfax against the Lecompton constitution:

"Imagine, sir, George Washington sitting in the White House, that noble patriot, whose whole career is a brilliant illustration of honor and purity in high places; and who doubts that, if such a constitution as this had been submitted to him for his sanction, he would have spurned from his door, with contempt and scorn, the messenger who bore it? Or, ask yourself, what would have been the indignant answer of Thomas Jefferson, who proclaimed as the battle-cry of the revolution that great truth enshrined in the Declaration, which has made his name immortal, and which scattered to the winds the sophistries and technicalities of the royalists of our land, that 'all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed;' not the implied consent of enforced submission, but the actual, undeniable, unquestioned consent of the freemen, who are to bear its burdens and enjoy its blessings. If a

messenger had dared to enter the portals of the White House when that stern old man of iron will, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, lived within it, and asked him to give his endorsement and approval, the sanction of his personal character and official influence, to a constitution, reeking with fraud, which its framers were seeking to enforce on a people, who protested against it, and denounced, and loathed, and repudiated it; and to go down to history as its voluntary advocate and champion; that messenger, I will warrant, would have remembered till the latest hour of his life, the torrent of rebuke with which he would have been overwhelmed.

"I turn gladly, joyfully, from the consideration of the extraordinary arguments to which I have alluded, to a brighter, happier picture, if you will only allow it to be painted. The President complains that he is tired of the Kansas troubles and desires peace. How easy is it to be obtained? Not by forcing, with despotic power and hireling soldiery, a constitution hated and spurned by the people upon a territory that will rise in arms against it; not by surrendering the power and authority of an infant State, into the hands of a pitiful minority of its citizens, who, by oppressive laws, and persistently fraudulent elections, have continued to wield the power, which a shameless usurpation originally gave them; but by simply asking the people of Kansas, under your own authority, if you insist on rejecting the vote authorized by their Legislature, the simple, and yet essential question, 'Do you desire Congress to ratify the Lecompton constitution, or the new constitution now being framed?' How easy is the pathway to peace, when justice is the guide! How rugged and devious the pathway of error, when wrong lights the road of her followers with her lurid torch!

"The people of Kansas, through every possible avenue that has not been closed by their enslavers, have remonstrated against this great wickedness. By ten thousand majority at the polls, by the unanimous protest of their Legislature, by public meetings, by their newspaper press, and by the voice of their delegate on this floor, overwhelmingly elected less than six months past, they ask you to repudiate this fraud. Dragged here, bound hand and foot by a Government office-holder, who, besides drawing his pay as Surveyor-General, acts also as President of the Lecompton convention, who becomes, by its insolent discarding of all your territorial officers, as well as the people's, the recipient of all the returns, fraudulent as well as genuine, and the canvasser of the votes—she appeals to you to release her from the grasp of this despot and dictator, and to let her go free. In the language of an eloquent and gifted orator of my own State, I say: 'When she comes to us, let it be as a willing bride, and not as a fettered and manacled slave.'"

The following letters from the editorial correspondence of Mr. Colfax, lift for us the veil of the past, and give us distinct and vivid views, both in the Senate and House of Representatives, of the intense interest attending the discussion in Congress of the Lecompton question.

"WASHINGTON, *March* 25, 1868.

"The past week has been full of excitement here, and a letter in regard to it may not be misspent time.

"The galleries and floor of the Senate have been constantly filled during its daytime and night sessions, to listen to the debates on the subject which engrosses all

minds. The Lecompton fraud has been most thoroughly discussed there from almost every possible standpoint of argument. Some of its friends have argued that it was fairly submitted to the people, others that the slavery clause alone was actually submitted, and that no other part of it needed to be, and others, like Mr. Bright, took the bold ground that submitting constitutions to a vote of the people who are to live under them is *not* in accordance with the true principles of our Government—a new kind of Democracy, as it seems to me. But all agreed that Lecompton must be fastened upon the new State of Kansas at all hazards, and all united, however variant their other arguments, in scouting the ten thousand majority against it, at the election ordered by the Governor and Legislature of the territory.

"Last Saturday night, according to the agreement between the Republican and Democratic members, the debate closed on the part of the former, General Wilson making the final speech on their behalf. The attendance was very large, and the vigorous and telling speech of the Massachusetts Senator more than repaid them for their presence. It was a fitting conclusion of an able debate.

"On Monday, Judge Douglas, who had been very sick during the past fortnight, was to speak, if able to do so. And at nine A. M., a large crowd was in attendance. The day, however, was consumed by other speeches of the Democratic party. Messrs. Stuart and Broderick, (anti-Lecompton,) and Bayard of Delaware, (Lecompton,) and Messrs. Green and Wilson, who had charge of the order of debate, by resolution of the Democratic and Republican caucuses, fixed on seven o'clock that evening as the hour when the Illinois Senator was to take

the floor. I went there at half-past six, (the Senate took a recess for dinner from five to seven P. M.,) and saw such a crowd as I had never before seen there. People did not attempt to sit, except a few of the fair sex, but were packed together as closely as it was possible for them to stand, on the floor, in the galleries, on the window sills, on the top of railings, and in fact wherever a foot could be planted. Crinoline was crushed sadly, and though many kept their seats, when they had been so fortunate as to get them, from nine in the morning till the close of the debate at eleven P. M., I saw many of the oldest members of the House apparently glad to obtain seats on the carpeted floor. The officers of the Senate say that such a mass of living, breathing humanity was never before crowded into the chamber

"A little before seven, the speaker, whose remarks such a multitude were assembled to hear, forced his way through the mass outside into the Senate chamber, and was greeted with a very unsenatorial round of applause from the galleries as he entered the room. He was pale, and looked in impaired health, but very determined, and in a few minutes commenced his speech.

"I have not time to go over its leading points, which the telegraph has doubtless given you. But his bold denunciations of Executive dictation and proscription, his scarification of the Regent Calhoun, and his foreshadowing of the future attempts to force slavery into the free States by the men who defend and endorse the Lecompton provision, that the right of property in slaves is higher and above all constitutional sanction, and his preference of private life, with self-respect, to public life with the advocacy of such a wicked fraud as this, were listened to by the Lecompton champions with evident displeasure and bitterness.

"When he resumed his seat, thoroughly exhausted, Toombs rose, and, in a passionate harangue, which would surprise even a Tammany Hall audience by its manner and matter, replied with the most offensive denunciation, going out of his way to brand all who opposed Lecompton as hypocrites, facile instruments, etc., etc. The Senators who had been so quick in calling Douglas to order during the debates at the opening of the session, looked on with pleased complacency, and the Vice-President did not see fit to check him. But after he finished, Stuart arose, and in severe but parliamentary language, rebuked him as the occasion required.

"The bill finally passed the next day by eight majority. Allen, of Rhode Island, and Jones, of Iowa, violating their instructions; the two New Jersey Democratic Senators, misrepresenting the known will of their State, and the two 'acting Senators from Indiana,' fittingly swelling the vote in favor of this fraud upon the people of Kansas. It will be several days before there will be a vote upon it in the House, and, without changing the opinion expressed in my last week's letter, I will let that, when it comes, speak for itself.

"Last Saturday I spoke in the House in opposition to this villiany, and, at the opening, responded to a direct question propounded to me by Mr. Barksdale, of Mississippi, the previous speaker. But the telegraph to the Chicago papers of Monday, which I have just received, so utterly jumbles up what I did say, that I feel prompted to correct it at once. It says:

"'Mr. Colfax, in response to Mr. Barksdale, said he would vote for the admission of Kansas as a free State, if her people came here with a slave constitution. He had made that declaration when the Missouri Compro-

mise was repealed, but he placed his objection on graver grounds.'

"What I did say was, that after the slave power had demanded the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, I had resolved never to vote for the admission of Kansas as a slave State under any contingency; and that I adhered to this position still. If the people had been dragooned by the army and the officers of the Government into submission to such a constitution, it should never be ratified by my vote. As it is now, however, with their gallant spirit and devotion to freedom unbroken, I would far rather submit this Lecompton fraud to their verdict and decision, confident that they would reject it overwhelmingly, than to risk it before this Congress, over which the slave power and the Executive exercise such malign power and influence. Knowing that the people of Kansas long for an opportunity to crush out this Lecompton swindle, I should be willing to refer it back to them for that fair and full vote upon it which its framers, from the same conviction, denied to them, on condition that, if they reject it, they should have the consent and authority of Congress given them in advance, to go on and frame the free State constitution which they desire. There would be no more risk in that, if an honest election was provided for, than there would be in submitting the question of freedom or slavery to the people of Massachusetts. But if the army and office-holders of the Government there had succeeded in so breaking the spirit and crushing the principles of the free State majority there, (as they have ineffectually labored to do,) that they would consent against their known convictions and expressed resolves, to accept this iniquity as their organic law, I would not even do that."

CHAPTER XI.

ADMINISTRATION DEFEAT—THE PURE REPUBLICAN VOTE —COALITION—RINGING AYES—MR. KEITT OF SOUTH CAROLINA—CRITTENDEN AMENDMENT—HORACE F. CLARK—VOTE OF MR. HARRIS OF ILLINOIS.

The letter of this chapter delineates graphically the intense interest attending the Lecompton struggle in the House of Representatives:

"WASHINGTON, *April*, 1858.

"The administration has just met another defeat on its pet Lecompton measure in the House of Representatives. It, too, has been the most signal reverse of all, exceeding in its importance and significance the three previous rebukes which the House had given to the President. The day for this decisive vote had been fixed by the Lecomptonites themselves. Every appliance had been unscrupulously used to secure a victory. Every possible appeal had been made to the members whose votes were supposed to be in any manner attainable. The President himself had sent for the refractory members from his own State, and besought them to save him from defeat. But every one stood firm, except Dewart, of the Schuylkill district, who could not withstand the President's tears. The *Union*, which has been threatening and imploring by terms, declared this morning that any Democrat who voted against Lecompton could not longer expect to be 'allowed to remain within its organization,' but 'must expect both to be regarded

and dealt with as its enemy.' Both sides *claimed* to be confident of victory, but the anti-Lecomptons *knew* that theirs was to be the triumph of to-day.

"At noon, when the Speaker took his chair, the galleries, which will seat two thousand persons, were crowded to their utmost capacity; and on the floor of the hall every seat seemed to be occupied—an unusual sight. Every one looked interested, and even excited; and many of them, on each side of the House, as if they had had but little rest during the past few days or nights. 'The morning hour,' which really is an afternoon one, from twelve to one P. M., was occupied with the ordinary business of the House, which few listened to; and exactly at one P. M., Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, the Lecompton leader, rose, and moved to take up the Lecompton bill. It was read the first time, when up rose the venerable Joshua R. Giddings, and moved that it be rejected. For that motion, ninety-two Republicans and three Democrats (Harris, of Illinois, Chapman and Hickman, of Pennsylvania) voted; but it was, of course, voted down by a large majority. The Republican minority of the House, having thus endeavored to destroy the bill utterly, and having failed, were in a condition, without even apparent inconsistency, to unite with other but less decided enemies of the Lecompton fraud in any practicable measure to thwart the President in his determination to impose it upon a protesting people.

"The bill was read the second time, and Mr. Montgomery, of Pennsylvania, who had been agreed on for that purpose, rose and moved to strike out the whole bill after the enacting clause, and insert the Crittenden proposition, as modified and improved by conferences of the three wings of the opposition in the House—the Re-

publicans, Douglas Democrats and Americans. General Quitman then moved to amend the amendment by inserting the Senate bill with the Pugh amendment *struck out.* The previous question was moved and seconded; for every one felt that this was an hour for action, not debate. First, Quitman's amendment failed, though two-thirds of the Lecomptonites voted for it, (ninety-two out of one hundred and twelve,) showing that they did not regard the people of Kansas as being authorized, even by resolution, to change their constitution till after 1864. And then came the test vote, during the progress of which that vast audience was so hushed to silence that, for the first time during this session, I was enabled at my seat to hear every response as it was uttered, even from the farthest extremity of the hall on the other side. A close observer could have detected, in the manner of these responses, which was to be the victorious party. The Lecomptonites, since they came into the hall, had lost their hope of a tie vote, with the Speaker to untie it; and their noes were uttered coldly, indignantly, and sometimes sullenly; while the ayes rang out from the anti-Lecomptonites clearly, distinctly, emphatically, as if they came from cheerful, hopeful hearts. Scarcely had the last name been called, when every one in the House and galleries knew, without waiting for the reading of the list of names and the annunciation by the Speaker, that the anti-Lecompton forces had triumphed by eight majority; and when the Speaker arose, with evident feeling, and announced, as calmly as possible, the defeat of his friends, a round of irrepressible applause rung from the galleries. Instantly, Mr. Keitt, of South Carolina, who is unused to hearing that kind of applause here at Washington, demanded, in an ex-

cited tone, that the gentlemen's galleries should be cleared at once. He forgot that, last week, when a New England Lecomptonite was making his speech, those same galleries, then occupied by refugees from Kansas and clerks of the Government, applauded three times, and until Mr. Kilgore rebuked them, desiring to know if pensioned officers of the administration had been placed there to cheer on the allies. But the Speaker, who must have remembered that his indignant colleague made no objection to that, declined ordering the rule to be enforced until a second offence should render it necessary.

"This episode over, Mr. Montgomery now called for a separate vote on the *preamble* to the original bill, which, as his bill was a substitute, to come in immediately after the enacting clause, could only be reached in that way. The objectionable features in the preamble were, that it declared the people of Kansas had made this constitution, and that it was republican in form. But the Speaker decided that the House could not have a separate vote on this, though they could on the title of the bill—a wrong decision, I think; but, having thus clearly expressed the dissent of the opposition to these assumptions of the preamble, the bill passed by one hundred and twenty to one hundred and twelve, *eight majority*, and the House immediately adjourned. The instant the Speaker announced the adjournment, and the hall became again 'a free hall,' untrammelled by Congressional rules, the pent-up feelings of the galleries broke out in a hearty, earnest round of enthusiastic applause.

"And thus my predictions, against which you expressed, editorially, your lack of confidence, have been verified. I do not wonder at your doubts, for we have had them here also; and, considering the odds against

us, it is wonderful that the administration has been overthrown. But for a fortnight—indeed, ever since I wrote you that it looked as if the possibility of its defeat had ripened into a *probability*—I have been confident of success; so confident, indeed, that when I spoke on the 20th of March, I took that occasion to say that peace, which all parties professed to seek, could be best secured by submitting to the people of Kansas the plain question whether they preferred the Lecompton constitution or a new one. Of the result of that vote, no candid man in the whole land entertains a shadow of a doubt.

"The Crittenden amendment, thus passed, admits Kansas as a State, refers Lecompton back to a vote of the people of Kansas, under the supervision of a Board, composed of the Governor and Secretary of the Territory and the two Free State Speakers of the Territorial Legislature, three of whom are necessary for a quorum. If Lecompton is rejected, a new convention is to be elected, a new constitution framed, and submitted to the people. Either one which is adopted by them, is to be the organic law; and, the vote being certified to the President by a majority of the Board, he is to declare Kansas in the Union by a public proclamation.

"Fair as this is, withdrawing the whole subject from Congress, 'localizing' all the trouble as the administration *professed* to desire, in advocating Lecompton, proposed by a conservative Southern statesman, and which only seeks to ascertain and carry out the popular will, the administration leaders will not yield to it. They insisted to-day, in conversations with our side, that the Senate would refuse to concur, and that the House would be forced to yield its concurrence. I make no predictions in regard to the future; but whoever of the

one hundred and twenty consents to be dragooned into submission and to abandon a fair measure, which accomplishes all that the administration has *professed* to desire, at the dictation of the President, the Senate, or the border-ruffians of Kansas, or yields to other appeals, deserves 'to sink so low that the hand of resurrection will never reach him.' Many Republicans would have preferred not to vote for any bill whereby there could be the slightest possibility, in the remotest degree, of Kansas being made a slave State; but, having performed their duty to their principles in attempting to reject the Senate's bill utterly and entirely, and it being evident that this or Lecompton would pass, they resolved to a man, from Mr. Giddings down to the least anti-slavery member of all, that, as political legislators, it was their duty to go with the other wings of the opposition for the Crittenden amendment, especially as Governor Robinson, Mr. Parrott, the delegate from Kansas, and every other Free State man here from that territory, gave it their cordial support, and guaranteed the hoped-for result there.

"The one hundred and twenty votes of which the majority was composed consisted of ninety-two Republicans, (*every man* whom the people had elected being in his seat, without a single exception,) twenty-two anti-Lecompton Democrats, and six Americans, being delegates from Kentucky, Maryland and North Carolina. The eight Americans from Tennessee, Missouri, Georgia and Louisiana, voted with the administration. Messrs. English, Foley, and J. G. Davis, of Indiana, voted anti-Lecompton. Indeed, of the fifty-odd Representatives from the States northwest of the Ohio, *only five* voted with the Lecomptonites. Mr. English had been

endeavoring to reunite the party, but found he could not do it, except on the basis of submission; and even if he had been willing to accept that, as he declared that he would not, no other anti-Lecompton Democrat would have gone with him, and it would have been fruitless. He voted with the anti-Lecomptonites to-day on every decision; but it will be no injustice to him to say that his repeated efforts to bridge the gulf between the two wings of the Democracy indicate that he is less decided and unyielding than the rest of them.

"The President sent, through one of the Cabinet, to Horace F. Clark, of New York, one of the anti-Lecomptonites, desiring to see him. The firm New Yorker, who has withstood appeals that would shake almost any one else, sent back word that he would be gratified to meet the President, but it must be after the Lecompton question was finally settled, not before. This is the current rumor here, and doubtless true.

"A single sentence more before I conclude this hasty letter. Mr. Harris, of Illinois, is far gone in consumption, and has been bleeding from the lungs in the sick-room ever since the last encounter in the House on the outrageous conduct of the Kansas Select Committee, where he acted as the anti-Lecompton leader. When he entered the House, exactly five minutes before one o'clock, with feeble step, leaning on the arm of his colleague, Morris, a thrill ran through the House. He could have been spared, but refused, and declared that, if it cost him his life, he should be in his seat to vote his utter condemnation of this shameless iniquity. When one, who has been for years a Hebrew of the Hebrews in his devotion to his party, of which he has been an active leader, thus perils his life to record his hostility

to this tyranny, ought not the people, who love justice and hate wrong, to imitate his example and emulate his patriotism, which rises higher than party, and is willing to give his life as a dying protest against it."

CHAPTER XII.

MR. COLFAX RE-NOMINATED IN 1858 — THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—MR. COLFAX CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE POST OFFICE AND POST ROADS—SERVICE TO THE EMIGRANTS TO PIKE'S PEAK—OVERLAND MAIL —OVERLAND TELEGRAPH — REPUBLICAN SUCCESS IN 1860 A DUTY—THE FAMED MOTTO OF AUGUSTINE— MR. LINCOLN'S NOMINATION AND ELECTION — MR. COLFAX URGED FOR POSTMASTER-GENERAL.

In 1858 Mr. Colfax was again nominated to Congress by acclamation, and triumphantly elected. And this has been the method in which he has been nominated and elected from the beginning of his Congressional career, carrying his district against the most untiring and gigantic efforts to defeat him; efforts made not only by the members of the Democratic party resident within the district, but by the leaders and rulers of that party throughout the nation. Presidential power and patronage have been employed with their might against him, but in vain. He was the people's candidate; a pure, honest faithful, conscientious man; an indefatigable worker; always alive to the interests of his constituents; kind, genial and affable in his mingling with the people;

a persuasive orator, kindling the enthusiasm of his hearers; unyielding in his adherence to his conscientious convictions; an unsullied patriot; a statesman with a policy that is synonymous with right; the people have always vindicated his course and returned him to his place in the national councils over all opposition.

The Thirty-sixth Congress assembled at Washington, Monday, December 5th, 1859. A majority of the members of the House were opposed to the administration. A contest for the Speakership rivalling that of the Thirty-fourth Congress delayed the organization for eight weeks, when William Pennington, ex-Governor of New Jersey, was elected Speaker. Mr. Colfax was made Chairman of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads. The mail service everywhere, on land and sea, was made to feel the vigor of his influence. He was especially solicitous that mail facilities should be afforded to the settlers of the new territories, and to those who had gone to the new gold regions of the Rocky Mountains. Through his special efforts and ability in carrying the measure through the House ahead of the routine order of business, the many thousands of emigrants to Pike's Peak, as Colorado was then called, who were paying from twenty-five cents to a dollar to express agents and others, for letters to and from the post offices on the frontiers, had extended to them the great benefits of the United States mail service a year sooner than they otherwise would. To him the credit is given of the establishment, by Congress, of the Daily Overland Mail from the western boundary of Missouri to San Francisco, on the great central route through Pike's Peak and Utah. The Overland Telegraph bill was also carried through Congress chiefly

through his agency; a measure which was considered a greater parliamentary achievement, as most of the members seemed absolutely opposed to it.

Mr. Colfax entered with all his soul into the great political conflict of 1860. He held that success was a duty due not only to Republican principles, but to the age and the country, and that any concession short of principle, necessary to insure that success, was not only wise and expedient, but also patriotic and obligatory. "We counsel," he wrote, "no surrender of principle, no abandonment of our organization, no overture to unite with any of the opposition, who may profess to be more pro-slavery than the Democracy themselves; but we protest, if it can be avoided, against there being again, as in 1856, a division of the opposition in the States which are to decide the Presidential contest; and a renewal thereby of the lease of ill-used power, which our opponents have thus obtained. Hundreds of thousands of voters, not yet enrolled in our ranks, sympathize with us in our desire to prevent the extension of slavery beyond its present limits. Shall we foster and promote their union with us in the work of overthrowing the Democracy, or shall we repel all union, and, from an over-estimate, perhaps, of our own strength, hazard a success that, with wise counsels, is already in our grasp?

"We differ somewhat from those ardent cotemporaries who demand the nomination of their favorite 'Representative-man,' whether popular or unpopular, and who insist that this must be done 'even if we are defeated.' We do agree with them in declaring that we shall go for no man, who does not prefer free labor and its extension to slave labor and its extension; who though mindful of the impartiality which should characterize

the Executive of the whole Union, will not fail to rebuke all new plots for making the Government the propagandist of slavery, and compel promptly and efficiently the suppression of that horrible slave trade, which the whole civilized world has banned as infamous, piratical and accursed. But in a Republican national convention, if any man could be found, North, South, East or West, whose integrity, whose life and whose avowals, rendered him unquestionably safe upon these questions, and who would yet poll one, two or three hundred thousand votes more than any one else, we believe it would be both wisdom and duty, patriotism and policy, to nominate him by acclamation, and thus render the contest an assured success from its very opening.

"Let us cast a single glance over the whole field. It was lost in 1856 by a division of the opposition. It is a fixed fact, that there is a decided majority of the voters of the Union to-day, who, while opposed to interference with slavery where it already exists, are adverse to its extension and to all plots to achieve that end. All these voters are not formally in the Republican ranks, but all are opposed to the Democracy. Shall an union of those who desire its overthrow for its manifold sins, be favored or shall it be repelled? The Democracy will doubtless be playing the rôle of moderation, conservatism, etc., in 1860 as in 1856, nominating old-line Whigs again as in 1856, and wooing their followers to their parlors, as the spider did the fly. We should hope to see the Republican ticket successful, and should earnestly labor for its triumph, even if it should, by deciding to repel all allies, provoke an union *against* it, for *its* overthrow, instead of its opponents! But looking at our own State of Indiana, as well as the broader arena we have been con-

sidering, and seeing here an United States Senator, Governor, Legislature, State officers and Congressional delegation, dependent greatly on the wisdom of our Presidential action, we hope to see 1860 realize the famed motto of Augustine, 'In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; and in all things, charity.'"

The nomination of Mr. Lincoln was according to the desires of Mr. Colfax's heart. It was his judgment that the nomination of Mr. Seward would result in a largely increased vote for the American party candidate, in a loss of the doubtful States, the defeat of the Republican party and the prolongation for another term of four years of the misrule under which the country had groaned for the eight preceding years. His labors in Indiana, which was one of the doubtful States and one of the hard battle-fields of the great conflict, were very abundant and effective in achieving the great triumph that was won for the Republican cause.

After Mr. Lincoln's election a spontaneous and exceeding great public pressure was brought to bear upon the President elect for the appointment of Mr. Colfax to a place in his Cabinet as Postmaster-General. The press, East, West, South, North, spoke of him for that position in the most flattering terms. The following was the language of one of the great dailies of the land: "The appointment of the Hon. Schuyler Colfax as Postmaster-General would, in our judgment, be an eminently approriate and satisfactory one. It may be truly said that his personal qualities are such as to fit him for any post of labor or trust. This, however, we take it for granted is well known. One thing is certain, that any establishment over which he might be placed, would be soon purged of every taint of corruption. He has the energy

and honest purpose demanded for restoring purity and thoroughness of administration. He would probe to the bottom every evil which should fall under his supervision, and put an end to every form of peculation and every degree of incompetence. In short, whether Mr. Colfax is or is not tendered a Cabinet appointment, we have no hesitation in saying that the best interests of the Republican party and the new administration demand the appointment of men of his stamp to office." Such notices came alike from New England, from the great central States of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, from the Northwest, from the Rocky Mountains, and from the States on the Pacific. Without any solicitation or any agency on his part, he was warmly recommended by the Legislatures and Governors of nearly every Northern State, by a very large majority of the Republican Congressmen both in the Senate and House, by all the publishers of the great cities of Philadelphia, New York and Boston, and by nearly the entire Republican press. As Mr. Colfax's own State was thought worthy of being represented in the Cabinet, a majority of the Presidential electors, a majority of the Republicans in the Legislature, a majority of the Republican Congressmen, the Republican Governor elect, a large majority of the Republican press, and a still larger majority of the Republican rank and file, united in recommending the appointment of Mr. Colfax. Never in the history of our Government was there manifested such a strong and unanimous desire for the appointment of any man to a place in the Cabinet, as there was for the appointment of Mr. Colfax as Postmaster-General. But Mr. Lincoln, for reasons satisfactory to his own mind, appointed Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, as Secretary of the

Interior, and, of course, could not have another member in his Cabinet from Indiana, and Montgomery Blair was made Postmaster-General. But Mr. Lincoln gave Mr. Colfax a higher place in his confidence and in his heart than he had for him in his Cabinet, and one of his biographers states, that in the latter years of his administration "he rarely took any steps affecting the interests of the nation without making his intentions known to Mr. Colfax, in whose judgment he placed the utmost confidence."

CHAPTER XIII.

HOME AGAIN—HISTORICAL RETROSPECT—DEEDS OF VIOLENCE—TREACHERY IN HIGH PLACES—NO OFFENSIVE ULTRAISM IN THE TRIUMPHANT PARTY—ESSENTIAL CHANGE OF CONSTITUTION REJECTED—WAITING THE DEVELOPMENT OF MR. LINCOLN'S POLICY.

Soon after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Colfax returned to his home at South Bend, and resumed his editorial labors. His first article was the following interesting paper on the state of the country:

HOME AGAIN.

"The stirring events of the past four months, which sweep before our eyes at the command of memory, as we come back to our old post of duty, seem like the history of a decade rather than a single season. When we bade good-bye last fall to the friends of our home,

and turned our face towards the Representative Hall, to which their confidence had commissioned us, the country had just passed through an exciting contest, in which four political parties had struggled for victory, and in which, although in many States three of these parties had combined to overthrow the one on whose banners were emblazoned 'Liberty and Union,' the Republicans had achieved a signal triumph. In this election every State had participated; and North and South, East and West, the whole voting population of the republic, to a thorough extent never before known, had enlisted ardently under one banner or another of this eventful contest. By the Constitution under which we live—by the Union, sanctified by the sacrifices of our fathers—by the laws of the land—by every consideration of honor and good faith—by the previous examples of the party that at last had proved successful—the duty of every American citizen was to submit, cheerfully and manfully, to this result, however unwelcome it might be to his prejudices. States, which did not expect to acquiesce, should have declined to participate. Parties, which expected to rebel should, if imbued with only common fairness, have stood aloof. Traitors, whose hearts were to be turned to hate against the Union, if unsuccessful in their votes, might have somewhat palliated their treason by repudiating in advance the use of the ballot-box. But to participate zealously in an election, and then, without any charge that their defeat was unconstitutionally effected, to revolt, is to base their rebellion on the morals of the gambler, who grasps his gains when he wins, but refuses, with an armed defiance, to yield the stakes when he loses.

"And yet, although they thus actively participated—

although on the 7th of November last there was no law upon the statute book on the subject of slavery except what had been placed there by Southern votes—although it was clearly ascertained that, with all the States represented, there would be a majority against the Republicans in each branch of Congress for the next two years—although no overt act against their interests had been, or could have been committed, the politicians of the Gulf States raised at once the banner of revolt, and determined, so far as they had power, to ruin a republic which they could not rule. True, only one of the three branches of the Government had passed into Republican hands—the Executive; but knowing that for four years to come, the President elect could not be controlled by them for their purposes as Pierce and Buchanan had been, the Union suddenly became hateful to them; and, reckless of the oaths which so many of them had taken for its preservation and protection, they boldly and openly declared themselves for its overthrow.

"The incidents that followed are, alas, historic. The persecutions, tarring and feathering, and murdering of unoffending citizens who had dared to vote for the man of their choice—the reign of terror, which soon crushed out all show of resistance to the edicts of the oligarchy—the capture of forts and arsenals of the United States—the insults to that noble flag, whose stars had never paled in the face of a foe, and whose stripes, till thus disgraced by the men whom it had protected, had never been unfurled except to wave in honor and glory—the piratical seizure of vessels of the American navy—the theft of gold and silver coin in the mint and subtreasury at New Orleans—the seizure of hospitals, provided by the humanity of the whole Union, as homes

for the sick seamen of the South, and their conversion into barracks for the soldiers who rejoiced in the rattlesnake or pelican flag — these, and a thousand other incidents that can never be blotted from the page of history, are crowded into the record of the winter that has recently closed.

"But, even worse, if possible, than all this, there was, for the first time in our nation since the days of Arnold, the most unblushing treachery in the highest places of the land; treason in the White House; treason in the Cabinet; treason in the halls of Congress; treason in the field. A Jackson or a Taylor would have crushed the conspiracy at the outset. But the Democratic administration of James Buchanan gave aid and comfort, in every possible way, to the plotters and the plot. The gallant chieftain, Scott, urged the Secretary of War to reinforce the forts before the cloud in the horizon was as large as a man's hand; but Floyd refused. On the contrary, for months before, he had been scattering the army, dismantling the forts to leave them an easy capture, distributing arms by the hundreds of thousands from the North all over the Southern States, where they could be most easily seized, and, since his resignation, has boasted of his work.

"Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, aided in this shameless scheme; and, while still a Cabinet officer, not only journeyed to North Carolina as a Commissioner from Mississippi to urge them into open treason, but also telegraphed to Charleston the despatch which caused the rebels there to fire upon that 'flag of beauty and of glory,' under which supplies were being borne to a gallant band of American soldiers in their harbor, and thus dishonored the banner that a Marion or a Sumter would

have died to defend. He, too, has since boasted of his share in this work of shame. Toucey, as Secretary of the Navy, sent off our fleets to the very ends of the earth; so that, when the long-planned treason was developed, but a single frigate ready for service could be found on our shores. And Buchanan, whether from imbecility, or willingness to realize his own prediction, that he would be the last President of the United States, stood by, like Saul at the stoning of Stephen, consenting to the act, if not directly aiding in its wickedness.

"And thus was this dark deed of treason consummated. Unaided by the administration, the conspirators would have failed. With an honest, patriotic administration in power, their plans would have been easily checkmated. But, with officers on the quarter-deck and at the helm, steering the ship of State full on the breakers, granting full license to the mutineers amongst her crew; and their own subordinates, in the Interior and War Departments, pillaging the money-chests in the very midst of the storm, is it any wonder that she passed into the hands of her new officers almost a wreck?

"But, while these scenes were rapidly transpiring, Congress was called upon, from various quarters, to adopt some compromise; not to satisfy the seceded States, for their leaders often declared, if the Republican party would sign stipulations in blank and leave them to fill up the terms themselves, they would not stay with them; and it was evident that nothing short of Lincoln's resignation would appease their wrath;—not to satisfy the North, for it had learned to submit to the most distasteful laws, to the most obnoxious results, to the most unwelcome rulers; but, while Mr. Buchanan was arguing in his messages that new heresy,

which has since found so many advocates, that the enforcement of the laws and the maintenance of the Union against all enemies of either, is coercion, it was insisted that something must be done for the Border States. The hero of the Hermitage, had he been living, would have awakened their patriotism by a proclamation, that would have stirred the blood of every loyal citizen. Washington would have stemmed the tide of insurrection if he had had to take the field in person. And Taylor would have lived out in his acts, the stern language with which he replied to Toombs, when that domineering Georgian menaced him, as he lay on that sick-bed from which he was carried to his grave, with threats of resistance and disunion.

"But President Buchanan, while on the one hand he held the army and navy in check, tying the hands of Anderson while a net-work of fortifications was being built around his beleaguered fort—on the other hand insisted on 'compromise,' himself suggesting terms in his message that he knew were totally inadmissible, and thereby fanning into a fiercer flame the embers of disaffection and disloyalty. Republicans, amongst whose two million of voters there was not a single man who did not expect to submit, if beaten at the election, were appealed to, under the pretence of compromise, to concede away their principles to save an Union already broken by treason. Thank God, they stood firm and unyielding against the humiliations and the national disgrace their enemies besought them to sanction. Willing to go to the utmost verge of conciliation, they could not consent to make slavery our national corner-stone. But they did not, on the other hand, exhibit any offensive ultraism in their policy. They organized three territories

without a word about slavery in either of the bills; because under a fair administration, which would not use its armies and its influence for slavery, and with Governors and Judges who were not hostile to free principles, they felt willing to risk the issue and to waive a positive prohibition, which would only have inflamed the public mind and thwarted the organizations by a veto from Mr. Buchanan. To answer the clamor about Personal Liberty Bills, they voted for a resolution, in which as radical Republicans as Mr. Lovejoy joined, recommending the repeal of such as were unconstitutional. To show that they had no designs on slavery in the States, as has been so falsely charged upon them by their enemies, they voted unanimously that Congress had no right or power to interfere therein. When it was urged that possibly but seven slave States might remain in the Union, and that the North, with Pike's Peak and Nebraska, might soon number twenty-one free States, and that then, by a three-fourths vote, the Constitution might legally be so amended as to exercise that power, a large portion of the Republicans aided in proposing to the States, as a proffer for peace, a Constitutional amendment, declaring that under all circumstances the Constitution shall remain on that question exactly as it came from the hands of Washington and Madison, unchangeable, thus assuring to the Border States absolute protection against all interference. But here the furthest limit of concession was reached. And when demands were made in the shape of the Crittenden and the Border State Compromise, that it should be declared that in all territories south of 36° 30′, slavery should exist and be protected as property, irrespective of and even in opposition to the public will, by consti-

tutional sanction, which should also be irrepealable, and that thus the Constitution should absolutely prohibit the people of the territories in question, from establishing freedom even if they unanimously desired it, the answer was *NO.* And by that answer, for one, we are willing to live and to die. Nor could we assent to *any* essential change in that noble instrument, the New Testament of Freedom, baptized as it was in the blood of heroes, who died to give us its safe-guards, and consecrated, as it is, by the prayers of the patriots who framed it. They intended it for a great charter of liberty, and so it must remain until the nation ceases to be worthy of its protection. When, instead of slavery being barely the local exception to its fundamental principles, as is now the case, it becomes by any amendment, its great central idea, we shall be so abased and dishonored, that Madison, who refused to allow in it any word that would recognize property in man, would scorn to acknowledge us as inheritors of that revolutionary glory, of which as a nation we have been so justly proud.

"But we must hasten with this hurried review of the past few months to a conclusion. President Lincoln, unable to grasp with his firm hand the trembling helm of State, while traitors were demoralizing the government and the people, during the long and gloomy winter, found, when he took the oath of office in the opening spring, the country in ruins, and secession almost an accomplished fact. With unshaken faith in his coolness, his judgment, and his determination, and with a full consciousness of all the mortifying embarrassments bequeathed to him by his predecessor, we wait anxiously to see him develop his policy. We believe that those who have pressed on him the expediency of 'masterly

inactivity' will find his strong mind rejecting it; for that policy has no terror to evil-doers; and it is only when the Union men in the Gulf States find that they are to receive the powerful support of the Government, that they will dare to uprise against their oppressors. We believe that Mr. Lincoln fully endorses the doctrine of Jefferson, that no foreign nation can ever have control of the mouth of the Mississippi river, and that it must be under the full and absolute control of the Government of the United States. And we know that if this policy is declared and carried out, any party in the Northwest which shall dare to array themselves against it will be overwhelmed by the masses of patriotic citizens, irrespective of political ties, who will rejoice to stand by the administration on such an issue as the indivisibility and perfect freedom of the great valley of the Mississippi, from its source to its mouth. Here, certainly, the pathways of policy and of principle lie in the same direction, and duty and expediency clasp hands in its favor."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE OPENING OF THE WAR—THE DIE IS CAST—THE HEROIC DEFENDER OF FORT SUMTER—HIS INTERESTING CONVERSATION—FROM WASHINGTON TO PHILADELPHIA VIA ANNAPOLIS AND PERRYVILLE—SPEECH OF MAJOR ANDERSON.

On the 12th of April, 1861, the rebel guns opened upon Fort Sumter, and war, dread war, had come, on

land and sea—"war with a thousand battles." The following brief editorial was from the pen of Mr. Colfax:

THE DIE IS CAST.

"Our columns are crowded with the exciting news that has poured in on us during the last few days, and we have but brief space for editorial comment.

"South Carolina has courted the infamy of lighting the torch of civil war. Forbearance on the part of the national Government, almost to the extreme of humiliation, has been met with arrogance and insult, until, unable to force the United States into any act of bloodshed and violence, which they could make a pretext for their act, they have most wickedly precipitated the Republic into war. They have opened the fires of their murderous batteries on the flag that Washington loved, and which Jackson and Taylor and Scott illumined with so many glorious triumphs—a parricidal act, as infamous as the ruffian who aims a death-blow at the mother who had borne and nurtured him. They have trampled the constitution and the laws, which they have sworn to support, under their feet; and they avow their purpose to overthrow the Government they can no longer rule, by the force and power of arms.

"But the awakened and bounding patriotism of the American people proves they have reckoned without their host. Henceforth it is evident all party divisions are to be forgotton. The question whether our Government has a right to exist, towers above all others. The only issue is to be between patriots and traitors. All men must range themselves under the reptile flag of disunion, or the resplendent stars and stripes, every thread of which has been consecrated by the blood of

heroes, who lived and died under its folds. There can be no neutrals in this struggle. They who are not for the American Union, the American Constitution, and the American Flag, against treason and rebellion, against perfidy and revolution, against the architects of ruin and the inaugurators of civil war, are in sympathy with the traitors, and will be known as the cow-boys of 1861, who, like the cow-boys of the Revolution, will be regarded in history as lower than the enemies whom they aided and abetted. While with all loyal men the motto 'God and our country,' will unite them, as with one heart and soul, for the stern duties of the impending contest."

Mr. Colfax was immediately called away from home in the service of the Government. Several important missions were committed to his trust. The following from his pen respecting Major Anderson, the heroic defender of Fort Sumter, is of abiding interest:

ROBERT ANDERSON,

THE HEROIC DEFENDER OF FORT SUMTER.

"In our two weeks absence from our readers, we have been travelling some four thousand miles in Canada, the East, etc., in the service of the State; but the most interesting incident to us personally of the whole trip, has been the acquaintance we formed with Major, now Colonel Anderson, whose heroic conduct during the last four months in the harbor of Charleston, has given him so strong a lodgment in the hearts of the American people, and such an enviable place in American history.

"We met him first in the War Department, in Wash-

ington, and found him that plain, unassuming gentleman, which all reports had declared him to be—loving his flag and country with a most fervid devotion, evidently more a man of deeds than of words, and with a face that exhibited unyielding determination in its every lineament. The next morning, just after the fire lit by the hand of an incendiary that threatened Willard's Hotel, had been subdued by the gallant Zouave Regiment of New York Firemen, we spent an hour, on his invitation, with him in his room, conversing on the stirring incidents of the eventful months that have recently passed, and the next day travelled in his company from Washington to Philadelphia, over the United States military route, via Annapolis, Chesapeake Bay and Perryville.

"We cannot, in the limits of a newspaper article, detail all of his deeply interesting conversation; but must content ourself with a few points.

"In response to an inquiry whether he had ever thought of blowing up the fort, with his entire command and himself, he replied in substance as follows: 'That finding his position at Fort Moultrie untenable, and the danger of an attack on him increasing, he determined to remove to Fort Sumter.' Writing to the War Department he remarked: 'If I were in Sumter, my command would be safe, if no additional fortifications should be built;' but this hint seemed to escape Mr. Floyd's notice. He then told the Charlestonians, who frequently visited Fort Moultrie, that, not knowing when an attack might be made on him, he should remove the women and children from it; and without any attempt at secresy, employed two schooners for this purpose. People came to his wharf in the afternoon while he was

packing the furniture, bedding, etc., on the vessels, and they were removed as he had said. After night, feeling that he had a right to make himself and his soldiers safe, as well as the women, he embarked them also on the vessels, and before morning they were safe within the walls of Sumter. The people of Charleston, when this movement was discovered, became exceedingly bitter and full of wrath. General Jennison, the President of the State Convention, called on Major Anderson and told him of their indignation against him—asseverating that twenty thousand people were ready to surround the fort, and to work their way into his command if they had to pick the bricks out of the wall with their fingers. 'Let them try it,' coolly replied Major Anderson, 'and when they have made the breach, they will find that we prefer death to being butchered. The magazine shall end the contest, and they will find here neither fort nor men.'

"When the bombardment commenced, they were entirely out of bread, rice, etc. Their stock of supplies was a few days rations of salt meat and coffee. The fire was opened on them at four-and-a-half A. M., battery after battery joining in the murderous attack. The Major took it very calmly; divided his men into companies to relieve each other; had their scanty breakfast prepared, which they partook of in silence, while the iron hail was crashing against their walls; prepared additional cartridges by tearing up the flannel shirts of the men, their bed-clothes, etc.; got out a supply of powder from the magazine; and after nearly four hours silence, the fort at last opened most vigorously on their assailants. Hot coffee was kept on the boiler in the cook-room for the men to partake of whenever they pleased; and they worked the guns with a will. They fired but

few shells; for the only guns for that kind of ammunition were the barbette ones on the open rampart, many of which were dismounted by the continuous fire of the enemy, and the serving of which, from the lack of casemate protection, would have rapidly thinned out the Major's little band.

"The Major does not evidently credit the South Carolina story that no one was hurt on their side; but, with his usual caution, expressed no positive opinion on the subject, having no means of knowing what were the actual facts.

"Although the batteries kept up the fire on the fort, at intervals, all night, to prevent the men from sleeping, they failed in their object. He ordered the men to bed, and they slept soundly, while the sentinels alone kept on duty. Although he had been up the night before, in the correspondence and conference with Beauregard's aids, he stayed up this night also, thinking that, by a bare possibility, some small boat from the relief squadron might work their way up to the fort. But they did not, and he was satisfied that relief was an impossibility. It was 'too late,' and he rejoiced that the fleet did not endanger themselves by the attempt.

"The reports, that were telegraphed from Charleston to the North, that when his barracks were on fire relief was proffered him, that when his flag was shot down another one was tendered, that after the evacuation he was the guest of Beauregard, are all equally untrue. When his fort was filled with the smoke of his burning quarters, the hostile batteries redoubled their fire on him. He says that, though the *Charleston Mercury* is now denouncing him for having spoken in condemnation of this at the North, he has the satisfaction of re-

membering that he spoke of it with equal frankness to the Carolinians.

"At the evacuation, he said to one of the officers: 'If our cases had been reversed, and your quarters were on fire, I should have stopped firing, and offered aid to extinguish the flames. War is a sad business at best, and we should strive to humanize it as much as possible.' The officer replied: 'We did just right.' 'Then, sir,' said Anderson, 'we need have no further conversation.'

"His statement of Wigfall's conversation with him, when he agreed to evacuate, differs materially from Wigfall's version as telegraphed. Wigfall did not demand an 'unconditional surrender,' and the fort in fact never was surrendered. He insisted that 'this thing' should be stopped—that Anderson had bravely defended his flag, that further contest was useless, and that General Beauregard wished to know on what terms he would evacuate. 'On those formerly proffered,' replied Anderson. When Beauregard's acting aids came, a short time after, and told him Wigfall had not seen their chief for two days, Anderson said: 'I have been imposed on, then; the white flag must come down and the fight go on.' But, as he had hoisted it after the Wigfall conference, at their request, he let it fly till Beauregard ratified the terms. Major Anderson regards the whole matter from last December until now as providential, and as intended, in the end, to arouse the magnificent demonstration of loyalty now witnessed in the country, and he regards Wigfall's visit as specially so. He had then but three cartridges left; a shot had gone through his wall and into a magazine, in which, fortunately, there was only fixed ammunition and no powder, and his gate was

burned down, making a practicable breach, through which he could have been stormed and placed at their mercy. And he speaks with great satisfaction of the fact, that the flag he hoisted on bended knee, after prayer, the next day after he entered Sumter, was never lowered. They had two flags at the fort, a large garrison flag, which he raised when he took up his quarters at Sumter, and a smaller one, called the storm-flag. The former had a slight rip in it; and when he was notified that in one hour the batteries would open upon him, he ordered the storm-flag to be raised in its stead. This flag was never at half-mast, as telegraphed. The enemy constantly fired at it, and the halyards were shot away, when it ran down a little, became entangled with the dissevered ropes, and fixed so that it could neither be pulled down nor hoisted up—virtually nailed to the mast.

"The remark, so widely criticised, made by him to Beauregard's officers: 'If not reinforced, I shall be starved out, or battered to pieces in a few days,' and which was telegraphed to Jefferson Davis and all over the country, he never uttered officially, nor expected to see repeated. After refusing in writing to surrender, he made the above remark in a general conversation, as he was about bowing them out of the fort, knowing that *they knew*, as they had stopped his supplies several days before, that he was at that very time out of bread, potatoes, fresh meats, rice, cabbage, etc. He thinks, however, that by their catching at it and publishing it, they only put themselves more in the wrong; as it proved that all sides fully understood that, in a few days at most, his already half-starved garrison would be entirely starved out, without firing a gun at the flag or the fort, or

endeavoring to slaughter the soldiers who but performed their duty in defending both.

"He said that all the time he was in Sumter he was in a genteel state's prison. Visits could only be made to him, even by his sick and anxious wife, by consent of the Carolina authorities—when they chose, they would refuse to let him buy potatoes; and a present of two cases of tobacco from New York, to the soldiers, was kept in Charleston, after being examined, three weeks, before they were allowed to taste what was such a luxury to them, and of which they had been for so long a time deprived.

"Alluding to an 'impregnable fort' being on fire inside, which caused so much remark during the bombardment, he said he had always disapproved of wooden barracks being created in such localities, and that for years he had been convinced that iron was the proper material.

"We asked him what he thought of the famous floating battery, and his reply was that its guns were effective, but that from their not anchoring it in the river near the fort, but mooring it at Sullivan's Island, its builders seemed to lack confidence in its boasted impregnability.

"Major Anderson became a Colonel by promotion while he was at the Capital, and remarked jocosely that 'thirty years ago he had the same rank and had just got back to it again.' In the Black Hawk war he had a staff commission, which gave him the honorary rank of Colonel; but he has at last reached it by deserved promotion, step by step, in the regular service. He will be a General before 1861 is numbered with the past.

"His route from Washington, via Annapolis and Perryville to Philadelphia, was a perfect ovation. At every station in Maryland and Pennsylvania, soldiers and citizens rushed to the cars, cheered him to the echo, insisted on shaking hands with him through the car window, and if the car doors had not been locked, would have entered and carried him off. At Perryville, Md., when we all landed from the steamer on the Chesapeake and took the cars for Philadelphia, we were half an hour ahead of time, and while waiting for the time of starting, he was most vociferously cheered, and Mrs. Lincoln also, who was going North in the same train. The crowd insisted on a speech, and at his request and Mrs. Lincoln's, we responded for both of them. Colonel Curtis, of Iowa, also spoke. But the extemporized mass meeting, and the soldiers especially, insisted that he *should* speak, and he finally responded as follows (we give the speech in full):

"'Fellow-soldiers: My friends from Indiana and Iowa have spoken for all of us in response to your kind greeting; and I only appear before you because you insist on it. My duty is to act and not to speak. This also is to be yours. Be faithful to your country, to which you owe so much. Be true to your glorious flag. Put your trust in God, and all will be right. God bless you.'

"Mr. Halstead, of New Jersey, Mr. Woods, a Union man from Texas, and Simeon Draper, of New York, also spoke; but that short, expressive speech of Anderson's eclipsed, and most justly, all the other speeches made in that half hour combined. At Philadelphia his reception was magnificent."

CHAPTER XV.

CIVILIANS AND MILITARY SERVICE—DUTIES OF CONGRESS —LABORS OUT OF CONGRESS—THE DEATH OF MRS. COLFAX—HER ESTIMABLE CHARACTER.

PRESIDENT MADISON, it is said, contemplated, during the war of 1812, making Henry Clay commander-in-chief of the American armies, but refrained from doing so because other branches of the public service had greater claims upon the eminent abilities of that distinguished civilian. Mr. Colfax would have been glad to have entered the military service in any minor capacity; but the civil service had a higher claim upon him. He had been re-elected a member of Congress. Upon that body would now devolve such duties as no Congress had ever yet been called upon to perform. Upon it would rest the great task of all appropriate legislation for sustaining the administration in its immense responsibility, and for carrying the country triumphantly through the great and perilous war in which it was engaged. The country was now in greater danger of destruction than ever before in its history. These perils of the country, and these duties devolving upon Congress, made it imperative upon Mr. Colfax to continue in that duty to which the people had called him, and at that post where they had placed him. In the Thirty-seventh Congress, a special session of which was called to meet on the fourth of July, he bore his part in the legislation which gave the country its great army and navy, placed over them their distinguished commanders, and furnished from the resources of the nation the

immense amount of means the Government needed for the strengthening of those two great arms of the national defence. Congress was not where the crashing thunder and leaden hail of the battle were; neither was Congress the hidden spring and source of the power that, under God, saved the land. That hidden spring and source of power was in the unsearchable and illimitable patriotism in the hearts of the people. Congress, however, was the organizing centre of that power which was in the patriotism of the people, and which, under God, was the salvation of the country.

But the labors of Mr. Colfax were not confined to his duties in Congress. They were abundant in battling with the sentiments that would have settled down like a deadly choke-damp upon the fires of patriotism and quenched them; that would, in suicidal policy, have recalled our armies from the camp and field, and granted the leaders of the rebellion all their demands. His eloquence in behalf of the country and army, like a bugle blast, stirred the hearts of men. His untiring efforts secured several regiments for the field from his district. At the time when his re-election was pending, disaster had sapped the enthusiasm of army and people. "Taking the district rostrum, he passed rapidly around among the people like a military evangelist, pleading for freedom, for the country, and for the army, forgetful of self, and solicitous only to recruit our thinned lines of battle." Friends, believing that his re-election was more valuable to the country than the regiments sent out of his district at that time could be to the army, remonstrated with him, but in vain. The characteristic reply, unstudied for effect, because made in private, was, that he preferred that he, not our brave soldiers, should

be in the minority, and that recruiting should go briskly and immediately forward.

In July, 1863, the great affliction of the life of Mr. Colfax occurred—his wife died.

Whilst he was a child with his widowed mother in New York, he was taken with her on annual visits far up the Hudson river, into the region of Saratoga. There, a child, he had met another child, a sweet little girl, younger than himself, and they had played together in the glorious summer-time, amidst the flowers, and under the trees, and upon the green hills, and by the crystal springs and murmuring brooks. Year after year he came from the noisy city to this country-paradise, and met the sweet little girl with whom he loved to play. But the annual visits were too far apart for the communication of the thoughts of the children, and letter-writing began at eight years of age. Those visits and those letters were silken ties that bound two hearts together. The tide of emigration that swept one of those hearts far away into the wild woods of the West severed not the ties that bound it to the other. Just before he had established himself as village editor, Schuyler Colfax, at the age of twenty-one, had been married, and had brought to his home in the West, in the person of a beautiful and admired woman, the little girl with whom he had so lovingly played in the glorious paradise of childhood.

What bright, halcyon days were those of the village editor in his new home, in the happy society of his wife, giving himself to the enjoyment of books and the duties of editorship. Mrs. Colfax became a very lovely, devoted Christian woman. She was at Washington with her husband for a number of years. Her Christian

character did not suffer blight from the power of the world. It grew in winning loveliness, in tender gentleness and firm consistency. She was such a Christian woman as Admiral Foote, the missionary admiral, as he has been called, who knew her well, said could be ill spared from Washington. For eight years before her death she was an invalid. Her husband's devotedness to her was unbounded. Solicitude in watching over her, while suffering from wasting disease, but bound her noble husband more closely to her. Death came; and although it had been long expected, because for a long time it had been giving signals of its approach, yet, until it came, the dreadfulness and desolation of its coming had not been dreamed of.

Mrs. Evelyn E. Colfax died at Newport, Rhode Island, July 10th, 1863, and was buried at South Bend, Indiana. A beautiful monument marks her grave. The inscription upon it characterizing her life is the Scriptural truth, "The path of the just shineth more and more unto the perfect day." And to this day, ladies, who have not forgotten her loveliness and worth, keep her grave adorned with blooming flowers from the spring-time to the fall.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—MR. COLFAX ELECTED SPEAKER—THE INAUGURATION—INAUGURAL ADDRESS—OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

THE Thirty-eighth Congress met on Monday, December 7th, 1863. The House was promptly organized by the election, upon the first ballot, of Mr. Colfax as Speaker. The whole number of votes cast was one hundred and eighty-one. Of these, Mr. Colfax received one hundred and one.

Whitelaw Ried, Esq., Washington correspondent of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, wrote for that journal the following account of the election and inauguration of the Speaker:

"There is a moment of suspense while the lists are carefully footed up; the tellers — Dawes, Pendleton, Pomeroy and Wadsworth, a Yankee Radical, a Cincinnati Democrat, a Pennsylvania Republican and a Kentucky pro-slavery Unionist—range themselves before the Clerk's desk, and Mr. Pendleton announces that Colfax has one hundred and one votes, Cox forty-two, and the rest scattering down to two. And the galleries cheer again. He has carried every vote of his party in the House—there is not a bolter or a dodger. It is the sixth time in his political career he has had just such a flattering experience. With what grace he may, the Clerk announces that 'Schuyler Colfax, one of the Representatives from the State of Indiana, having received a majority of the votes given, is duly elected Speaker of

the House of Representatives for the Thirty-eighth Congress.' And the galleries cheer again, while the members' faces are wreathed in smiles, and there is a general turning to the medium-sized, brown-bearded, genial-faced man in the midst of the administration members, who has been avoiding the fire of gazes from spectators by bending over a roll-call.

"In a moment, at the Clerk's appointment, a couple of Democrats, Dawson and Cox, are coming over from the opposite side to congratulate the Speaker and conduct him to the chair.

"And then, under the gaze of all this assemblage of Place and Power, there walks up the aisle, to take the official oath of the third executive office in the nation, the son of a poor widow of New York city, who quit school at the age of ten years to seek his fortune in the West, and since then, thanks to the training of the printing-office, to generous talents and a good use of them, has been gradually climbing, climbing, till to-day he stands in this envied position, the unanimous choice of his party for the place; stands where the Fathers who first gathered in our national Congress placed Muhlenburg, where Henry Clay so long shed dignity upon the position, where, in later years, Bell and Polk and Winthrop and Linn Boyd and Banks have deemed it high honor to stand. It is another triumph of the best feature in the institutions we are striving to preserve.

"He speaks briefly, gracefully, patriotically; invokes their remembrance of that sacred truth, which all history verifies, that they who rule not in righteousness shall perish from the earth; and, after grateful thanks, turns to take the solemn oath of office, which Mr. Wash-

burne administers. And the galleries ring again with applause as he takes the Speaker's chair, and the House no longer depends on Etheridge, the Clerk."

The following was the inaugural address of Mr. Colfax:

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: To-day will be marked in American history as the opening of a Congress destined to face and settle the most important questions of the century, and during whose existence the rebellion which has passed its culmination, will, beyond question, thanks to our army, and navy, and administration, die a deserved death. Not only will your constituents watch with strict scrutiny your deliberations here, but the friends of liberty, in the most distant lands, will be interested spectators of your acts in this greater than Roman forum. I invoke you to approach these grave questions with the calm thoughtfulness of statesmen, freeing yourselves from that acerbity which mars instead of advancing legislation, and with unshaken reliance on that Divine power which gave victory to those who formed this Union, and can give even greater victory to those who are seeking to save it from destruction, from the hand of the parricide and traitor. I invoke you, also, to remember that sacred truth which all history verifies, that 'they who rule not in righteousness shall perish from the earth.'

"Thanking you with a grateful heart for this distinguished mark of your confidence and regard, and appealing to you all for that support and forbearance, by the aid of which alone I can hope to succeed, I am now ready to take the oath of office and enter upon the duties you have assigned me."

The following extracts give the responses of the press, both Republican and Democratic, to the election of Mr. Colfax as Speaker:

"It is probable that before these lines fall under the reader's eye, the Hon. Schuyler Colfax will have been elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. No man in the present Congress is more eminently fitted than he to fulfil the duties of that responsible position. One of the most experienced members, thoroughly familiar with the rules and proceedings of the House, personally popular with both parties on account of his courtesy and fairness, and bearing an unblemished reputation for political integrity and devotion to the great principles which underlie our Government, he will take his seat with the general acquiescence of the body over which he is called to preside, and of the country at large. It may here be mentioned as an interesting fact, that the election of Mr. Colfax introduces a new profession into the Speaker's chair. Hitherto, if our memory serves us right, the Speakers have been selected from the legal profession. Mr. Colfax is not a lawyer, but an editor of untiring industry and enterprise, and has risen to his present high position solely on his merits. The country will be greatly disappointed if he does not prove to be one of the best presiding officers ever elected to the Speaker's chair."—*New York Com. Advertiser*, *December 7th*, 1863.

"The first day's proceedings of Congress give a touch of its quality in a working majority for the radicals in both branches, sufficient for all practical purposes. The party united without difficulty on Mr. Colfax, the opposition proving to be of no account. The administration candidate was elected on the first ballot. The Speaker, for a wonder, is not a lawyer, but has been several years

an able journalist, and is a courteous gentleman, of strongly radical politics, but of decision, energy and integrity of character, and promises to make an impartial presiding officer.

"As we cannot have a Democrat for Speaker of Congress, we would as soon see Mr. Colfax in the chair as any Republican in the House. He is an intelligent, active working man, a good printer, a good editor, a good citizen, and has discharged his duty conscientiously, we have no doubt, as a public man. We hope he will be treated fairly and with all due respect in his new and responsible position, and that the proceedings of the present Congress will be distinguished in all respects by reason, not by passion; by that mutual forbearance and patriotic motive which the critical condition of the country requires at the hands of its faithful friends."—*Boston Post.*

CHAPTER XVII.

PRESS DINNER TO MR. COLFAX—SPEECH OF MR. WILKESON—RESPONSE OF MR. COLFAX.

Mr. Colfax was the first editor ever elected to the Speaker's chair. The members of the press, in honor of the event, gave to him a public dinner, an account of which was thus given by the *Washington Chronicle:*

"On Saturday evening last was commemorated in our city one of those striking events which are the boast of our Republican institutions. While an honest rail-

splitter guides the destinies of the Republic in this, the grandest ordeal through which it has passed, so as to command the hearty respect of the world and the honest admiration of his countrymen, an ex-editor presides over the deliberations of the House of Representatives—that 'nobler than Roman forum,' with an ease of manner, a delicacy of tact, and a fulness of knowledge rarely equalled and seldom surpassed. The representatives of the press rightly judged that so significant an event should not be passed over unnoticed, and accordingly tendered to Mr. Colfax the compliment of a dinner that was to embrace only those connected with the 'Fourth Estate.' The following letter was therefore addressed to Mr. Colfax:

"'WASHINGTON CITY, *December* 19*th*, 1863.

"'HON. SCHUYLER COLFAX,

"'*Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States:*

"'DEAR SIR: Appreciating your services through a long course of public life, and the rare qualities of heart and mind which have made your elevation to the third executive office of the nation seem so natural and fitting that all competitors quietly withdrew, and the members of your party put you in nomination by acclamation, the representatives of your life-long profession now at the Capital desire to mark their admiration of your private and public virtues, and their gratification at your being called to preside over one of the largest and most important legislative assemblages in the world.

"'We beg, therefore, to ask your presence at a dinner to be given in honor of your election, at Willard's

Hotel, this evening, at seven o'clock, to be attended exclusively by the members of the press.'

"The distinguished guest and his entertainers assembled in due time in one of the parlors at Willard's. Shortly before eight they repaired to the dining room, where was set out a table resplendent with silver and glass.

"Samuel Wilkeson, of the New York *Times*, presided, and made the opening speech. After referring to his past connection with both the Albany *Evening Journal* and New York *Tribune* as editor, and describing his running over the various exchanges, he concludes:

"Going rapidly through all till I came to the South Bend *Register*. That paper I always read, both on the *Tribune* and on the *Journal*. I read it for its own sake, for it was wise, it was honest, it was well made, it ever had news. 'Twas one of the few papers in America into which the scissors always went, or which always communicated to a daily political writer a valuable political impression. And I read the South Bend *Register* for another reason, wholly peculiar to myself. Eighteen years ago, at one o'clock of a winter moonlight morning, while the horses of the stage-coach in which I was plowing the thick mud of Indiana were being changed at the tavern in South Bend, I walked the footway of the principal street to shake off a great weariness. I saw a light through a window. A sign, '*The Register*,' was legible above it, and I saw through the window a man in his shirt sleeves walking quickly about like one that worked. I paused, and looked, and imagined about the man, and about his work, and about the lateness of the hour to which it was protracted; and

I wondered if he was in debt and was struggling to get out, and if his wife was expecting him and had lighted a new candle for his coming, and if he was very tired. A coming step interrupted this idle dreaming. When the walker reached my side I joined him, and as we went I asked him questions, and naturally they were about the workman in the shirt sleeves. 'What sort of a man is he?' 'He is very good to the poor; he works hard; he is sociable with all people; he pays his debts; he is a safe adviser; he doesn't drink whiskey; folks depend on him; all this part of Indiana believe in him.' From that day to this I have never taken up the South Bend *Register* without thinking of this eulogy, and envying the man who had justly entitled himself to it in the dawn of his manhood.

"That man when twenty-five years old, and again when twenty-nine years old, was sent by his neighbors to the National Presidential Conventions—when twenty-seven years old was sent by his neighbors as a wise political-reformer to the Constitutional Convention of Indiana—was sent by the same neighbors to Congress in the year 1854, and kept there by them from that day to this. On the first Monday of this month of December, the Republicans of the House of Representatives unanimously elected him the Speaker of that body.

"My brothers, you think you know the secret of this uninterrupted favor of a constituency to a representative—this continued regard of a constituency for a citizen—of this appreciation of a statesman by statesmen. *You* find *them* in his fidelity to principles—in his thorough attention to business—in his talents for legislation—in their constant and useful devotion to public good. The *Congressional Globe* and the traditional and written his-

tory of Congress are full of the evidences of these virtues, and of this fitness for public trusts, and this title to honored confidence. But you don't know the secret. I do. I learned it by chance. I got possession of it by an unwitting and unwilling eaves-dropping in the parlor of another noble man, John W. Forney. Eighteen years after my midnight watching of that printer, in his shirt-sleeves, at his solitary labor, I heard him in this city utter this, his philosophy of life: '*I consider that day wasted in which I have not done some good to some human being, or added somewhat to somebody's happiness.*' What success could recede from that man's pursuit? nay, what success would not pursue that man and forcibly crown him with honors and gratitude? Schuyler Colfax, editor of the South Bend *Register*, Congressman from Indiana, and for eleven years actor of a philosophical life that Socrates might have envied, you cannot escape the love of your fellow-man. We journalists and men of the newspaper press do love you, and claim you as bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. Fill your glasses all, in an invocation to the gods for long life, greater successes, and ever-increasing happiness to our editorial brother in the Speaker's chair."

In response to the toast of the President, loud calls being made for Hon. Schuyler Colfax, that gentleman arose, and when the excitement subsided, spoke as follows:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Press: If the events of the first Monday of December, in which the American Congress saw fit to take the editor of a country paper, and place him in the highest chair in that dignified and deliberative body, shall be imprinted upon

my memory until the hour comes that I am to be gathered to my fathers—this night, when by your invitation I am in the midst of my brethren of the press, receiving at your hands a compliment of which the most honored statesman in America might be proud, joined in as it is by gentlemen of all the various political organizations of the day, and with a welcome and heart greeting that seem to me must be sincere, will be equally imprinted upon my memory while life shall last. And as if to increase this obligation, and make it far beyond my ability to adequately acknowledge, I have had to listen to-night to an eulogy from your distinguished chairman, of which I can only wish I was more worthy. What he has said has called back to my mind what is often before it, the years of my early manhood—and I see a friend seated at this table, Mr. Defrees, who knows much of it about as well as myself—when, struggling against poverty and adverse fortunes sometimes, I sought in the profession to which you have devoted yourselves, to earn an honest livelihood for myself and family, and a position, humble but not dishonored, among the newspaper men of America. I cannot remember the exact evening to which he alludes, when, a stranger then, as I am glad he is not now, he saw me through a window in my office, with the midnight lamp before me, and heard the commentary on my life from the lips of some too partial friend amongst those who, from my boyhood, have surrounded me with so much kindness and affection. But well do I remember, in the early history of the newspaper that numbered but two hundred and fifty subscribers when I established it, I was often compelled to labor far into the hours of night. And little did I dream, at that time, I was ever to be a member of the American Congress; and far less

that I was to be the recipient of the honor whose conferment you commemorate and endorse to-night. I can say of that paper that its columns, from its very first number, will bear testimony to-day that in all the political canvasses in which I was engaged, I never avoided a frank and outspoken expression of opinion on any question before the American public; and that, as these opinions had always been honestly entertained, I hesitated not to frankly and manfully avow them.

"Though the effect of these avowals was, from the political complexion of the district and the State, to keep me in a minority, the people among whom I live will bear testimony that I was no less faithful to them then, than I have been when, in later years, that minority has, by the course of events, been changed into a majority. (Applause.)

"In the midst of all these festivities and honors, my friends, my heart turns warmly to-night towards the life-long friends at home; and I feel, indeed, that there is no man in the American Congress who has a constituency of which he has a greater right to be proud than I have of mine. With a generous forbearance to all my shortcomings, overlooking all deficiencies, they have sustained me ever with the unseen but magnetic power of their hearts, and strengthened me with their hands in all the contests and canvasses of the past; and I shall go back, at the end of this Congress, to the private life to which I expect to retire, to live and die in the midst of those I love so faithfully and so well.

"I have been glad to meet you here to-night, and I am glad that, notwithstanding our varied and antagonizing political shades of opinion, we can thus sit down together in social harmony. We know there is to be a

day coming when the 'lion and the lamb shall lie down together.' Some doubting Thomases think this will only be realized by the lamb being, at the time, inside of the lion. But, politically, the prophecy seems almost verified to-night.

"I cannot avoid saying a few words in relation to the profession to which we have devoted our lives. I think you cannot but acknowledge that the American Congress has not overlooked the press. Not only have they seen fit, for the first time in the history of Congress, to select an editor for the grave responsibilities which cluster around their presiding officer, but from the ranks of the same profession they have taken a gentleman for the next office in order, the Clerk of the House, and one whom with a modesty equal to his worth, I see blushes as I allude to him, (Mr. McPherson.) And besides these, we have also in the American Congress another gentleman, a printer, acting as postmaster of the House. Having thus generously given a majority of all offices to the press, they have magnanimously allowed 'the rest of mankind' to take the remaining two offices. (Laughter and applause.) In the other branch of Congress, we have as Clerk of the Senate, John W. Forney, one of the most gifted and distinguished journalists of our times. The Vice-President of the United States, also, was a newspaper man, and I doubt not a good one. And so, also, was the Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, Mr. Brown, of Illinois. And if President Lincoln was not himself directly connected with the press, I think we can bear testimony to the fact of his having furnished material for innumerable editorials in its columns. (Laughter.)

"You do not expect me to make an elaborate after-

dinner speech to-night, because the usage of a Speaker is not to make speeches, but to listen to them, and I expect to have considerable of that latter duty to perform during the eventful Congress just opening. A few words before I sit down in regard to our profession. Next to the sacred desk and those who minister in it there is no profession more responsible than yours.

"The editor cannot wait like the politician to see the set of the tide, but is required, as new necessities arise, not only to avow at once his sentiments upon them, but to discuss them intelligently and instructively. It is also his duty to guide and direct public opinion in the proper channels, and to lay before the readers of his sheet such matters as shall tend to the elevation of their character. I have sometimes thought that newspapers in their sphere might be compared to that exquisite mechanism of the universe, whereby the moisture is lifted from the earth, condensed into clouds, and poured back again in refreshing and fertilizing showers to bless the husbandman, and produce the abundant harvests. So, with the representatives of the press, they draw from public opinion, condense from public opinion, and finally reflect and re-distribute it back again in turn to its elevation and purification. (Applause.) I think the American press, in the main, performs that duty faithfully and well. We can compare it with the press of any other land, and that, too, without blushing at the comparison. I need not say to you, my friends, that the press is a power in the land. Contrast the press to-day with what it was a century ago, or even but thirty years ago, and you will see how wonderful has been its onward march and power. But, with these responsibilities, come upon

you grave duties—duties not only to yourselves, but to all your fellow-men.

"I speak first of the duty of every representative of the American press to elevate its character. Wranglers and libellers amongst you not only dishonor themselves but the entire profession.

"It is a duty you owe also to yourselves and to mankind that your sheets should go pure from alloy into the family circle, where they are pondered over by the gray-haired grandfather as well as the young child just able to spell out the words you have woven into editorials. If my theory of life is true, an accidental allusion to which one morning caught the ear of your President, and has been commented on by him, but which I come far short of living up to myself, that the highest personal duty is to seek to make those around you happier, how important is the point to which I have just alluded. Your papers, when marred by personal abuse, will sadden instead of gladden your readers, and become intruders at any hearth-stone where sunshine is desirable, instead of being welcome visitors.

"In the second place, there is another grand duty devolved upon the press. It is the fostering and development of the patriotism which has been illustrated in so marked a degree in the crisis through which we are now passing. It is the invocations of the press going home to the hearts of the people, which have caused them to go forth and bare their breasts to the bullets of the enemy in defence of the integrity and perpetuity of this Union. It is the press that has elicited this marked development of the principles of humanity in our great struggle.

"You see this development of principle in the re-

iterated repetition of the acts of the good Samaritans, even to our wounded enemies, in the swelling stream of treasure that pours into the coffers of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, and in the relief proffered without stint to our distressed prisoners at Richmond, coming from our people all over the land. And this is because the invocations of the press have been listened to and responded to at the hearth-stones of the American people. So also is the development of manly patriotism. We have all read in our childhood of the injunction of the Spartan mother to her son, on going out to battle, 'Come back with your shield, or upon it;' and have there not been words of similar import uttered by thousands and tens of thousands of people through all the loyal States during the war in which we were engaged? We have seen mothers sending out their first-born, who could have said, like the lad in the olden time, 'My sword is too short.' And have not these same mothers acted in the spirit of the famous reply, 'Add a step to it, and it will be long enough.' And thus the young and dearly cherished have gone from family and from home, even when scarcely matured, to endure the privations of the camp and field, because their country was in danger, and they could die to save it.

"For much of this ennobling patriotism, for these marked developments of humanity, I bless to-night the American press. [Applause.]

"And, again, you have another duty to perform. It is the inculcation of morality among that large circle of people you thus reach. If the fountain is poisoned, the water that flows from it shall be poisoned too; and those that drink of that water will have poison in their veins instead of the pure blood that gives health and strength.

It is your duty to see that not by your aid shall these poisons reach your patrons, to spread moral miasma within the circle of your influences. Having thus, at greater length than I intended, alluded to the duties devolved upon us as journalists, I must again, before I resume my seat, warmly and gratefully thank you for your kindness manifested to me here. This night shall be marked with a white stone in the history of my life. And as I look back, in the days that are to come, if God spares my life, I shall never forget these hours we have so happily passed together.

"For the great honor you have done me to-night, for such a reception as you have given me, I feel, with the Irish orator, like saying, 'My heart would shake hands with all of you.' [Laughter and applause.] And I beg leave to give you a sentiment as a platform on which all of us can safely stand:

"THE AMERICAN PRESS: If inspired by patriotism, morality, and humanity, it cannot fail to develop a constantly increasing vigor, power, and consequent independence." [Loud and continued applause.]

CHAPTER XVIII

KINDNESS OF MR. COLFAX—HOMILY FOR THE THOUGHTFUL—OBLIGATIONS OF JOURNALISTS—USE OF EXPERIENCE—SOCIAL DUTIES—INCIDENT FROM ARNOLD'S "LINCOLN AND SLAVERY"—LASTING FRIENDSHIP.

MR. WILKESON, in his speech at the "Press Dinner," speaks of the kindness of Mr. Colfax. It is a characteristic of his nature. Kindness, gentleness and abounding benevolence he has abundantly exemplified, and often warmly and eloquently advocated. A Homily for the Thoughtful, written early in his editorial life, and winningly persuasive of excellent things, was but a key-note of what has pervaded his whole career. It is here given as a specimen of what, besides that which was political, found its way into the editorial columns of the *Register:*

A HOMILY FOR THE THOUGHTFUL.

"The public journalist, who, with his single pen, writes to his hundreds or thousands of readers, who does not sometimes, at least, point their attention and direct their thoughts to social as well as political duties and responsibilities, fails to fill up the sphere of his vocation—neglects one of his most palpable and imperative obligations. We have preferred waiting until this, the last month of winter's reign—which, if the analogy of the seasons with the eras of actual life is as marked and as instructive as we think it is, should be the last month of the year—to ask a moment's attention to themes, which none will say are hackneyed in our columns.

"We live but vainly, idly, uselessly, if the lessons of the past fail to make us wiser. We live, not like reasoning, intelligent beings, if we draw a thick veil over that portion of our life, which is beyond our reach, and thus prevent the light of its experience from illumining the yet untrodden pathway of the future. Each beat of our pulse—each throbbing of our heart—brings us nearer to the grave. And, though sects may differ as to its realities, each night that passes away in its dream of forgetfulness, leaves us one day less of our span of being—and hurries us forward, towards that innumerable company that have passed away from earth's busy scenes forever. We proffer, therefore, no apology to any, for striving to direct, if possible, a moment's thought upon a few of the social duties which, as responsible beings, we owe to the community in which we dwell.

"How many of those whose eyes are glancing over these sentences have made the world happier for their presence in the last twelvemonth? Whose woes have you alleviated? Whose miseries have you soothed? Whose hard and rigorous lot have you softened? Whose sick-bed have you attended? Whose sufferings have you mitigated? Cast your thoughts backward, and pause as faithful memory presents to you her tablets. Are they all blank? Is there not one tear dried up—one heart made happier, to redeem them from their vacant nothingness? If so, heed the counsels and pledge the resolves that the still, small voice within commends, at this moment, for your adoption. The busy cares of life—the toils of traffic and of business—too often cause us all to forget and neglect these duties. But they are duties and obligations still, which can neither be denied or evaded. The glittering stars that gem the firmament

at night still shine above us when the sun rides high in the heavens; and though his glare obscures them from our view, they are still there as brilliant and as numerous as ever. So it is with our duties. Though obscured or hidden by the press of business, the toils of life, or the burthen of domestic cares, still, if we would turn our thoughts and eyes upon our hearts—if we would dissipate the clouds that darken our consciences, we would see these obligations as clearly as we can discern the constellations of heaven when they gladden our vision with their undimmed brilliancy. He who has realized in his heart, as well as in his judgment, that we are sent here together—the rich and the poor, the learned and the unlearned, the noble and the humble—not as cumberers of the earth, but as bearers of each other's burdens, has learned one of the great truths of life.

"Have you been just to all men? Not honest only—not upright only—but JUST in the widest and fullest acceptance of the word. Art thou wealthy, and hast thou acted the miser? The poorest man on earth is a more valued citizen. If there is one who reads this, whose pattern and whose model is a Shylock—who has oppressed the hireling in his wages—who has laid a heavy hand upon the honest, but impoverished debtor—the earth is not happier for *his* presence. If there is one whose impulses of humanity have been petrified by the lust for gold, whose generosity has dried up into avarice, and who knows from hearsay only and not from experience, that charity twice blesses—blessing both him that gives and him that takes—the earth is not happier for *his* presence. But to turn the subject into the channel of business life, the man who takes advantage of his creditor's forgetfulness, has not been

'just to all men.' The debtor who glances over a bill of his indebtedness and rejoices secretly to find some charge omitted, may wear the garb of honesty, but he is not just, not upright. He who forgets or neglects his obligations, forgets the claims of justice. Need we point out an instance? When sickness comes with paralyzing hand—when fever's scorching heats are felt, whose footsteps at the door sound most welcome? When some loved relative lies in the very crisis of disease, how anxiously is the face of the physician scanned—how every word that falls from his lips is caught at—how every hope hangs upon his counsel, and how you strive to look through his expressive eyes, the windows of the soul, to read his secret thoughts. When life trembles in the balance, how hushed is every sound as he keeps his vigils by the bedside, and labors with professional skill, that has cost him years of study and reflection, to preserve the soul and body, mind and matter, in their mysterious companionship. And yet, when health comes back, when the cheek again feels the warmth of life, when the nerves and sinews again become obedient servants to their master, how often, nay, how almost universally, is the pilot who brought the patient safely through the stormy conflict of Life with Death forgotten, until the hour of peril and of pain again calls him to duty? Habit, 'tis true, may palliate, but it cannot vindicate such injustice. Though now last paid of all other debts, he who is the guardian of your life, the protector of your health, should, after your Creator, receive the first fruits of your labor. Have you heard your neighbor slandered, when his absence gave license to his slanderers, and have you failed to perform that most grateful of all duties, the

vindication of a friend's fair fame and character? Have you suffered your tongue to blacken the reputation of some female? Have you indulged in dark and covert insinuations—in half-expressed slanders—upon one of a sex who should receive the protection and love, instead of incurring the hate and hostility of man? Then indeed you have *not* been just.

"Have you warned your fellow-men from error's path? Warned them, we mean, by example as well as precept? You see around you intemperance upon the increase. You see your neighbor, your brother-man, yielding to its temptations. You see the strong bands of habit encircling him—the chains riveting upon his limbs. And do you pause and hesitate to utter that word of kind entreaty which may draw him back from the yawning chasm before him? Grant, if you please, that your unselfish appeals are answered only by curses and by sneers; and yet the duty is a duty still—more imminent, more imperative, as the danger is more threatening. Whether clothed in costly raiment or in rags, he is your neighbor and your brother. Formed as he is by the same Creator, bearing the same impress upon his brow, can you suffer him to go on in his mad career, unwarned of the rayless gloom and comfortless despair that clouds and embitters the last hours of the wretched inebriate? Dare you follow in the footsteps of the marked man, Cain, who insultingly asked, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' He who suffers a fellow-man to plunge unwarned into the abyss of ruin is equally guilty with the heartless being who could suffer a blind man to stalk on until he stumbles from the brink of a precipice upon the sharp and jutting rocks below.

"The subject opens and widens before us, but we

have exceeded the space for it and must break off. We leave the thoughts hurriedly glanced at for the calm consideration of those who think—for action, too, as well as thought. With all others, they will of course pass as the water through the sieve, leaving no trace behind."

To the practical exhibitions of this genial benevolence, Mr. Arnold, in his book on "Lincoln and Slavery," refers: "The following incident is so characteristic of Speaker Colfax, and so well illustrates that goodness of heart and sweetness of disposition for which he is distinguished, that, although perhaps out of place here, I cannot omit it. The last days of the session were, as such days always are, full of cares and perplexities, every thing and everybody hurried and impatient; yet, through all, Colfax retained his amiability. On the last night of the session, when going into the Speaker's room, I saw a basket of most beautiful flowers marked, '*Mrs. G., with kind regards of Mr. Colfax.*' This lady was the wife of an officer of the House, and was very ill. This kind consideration, that did not forget the wife of a subordinate, even in that last hurried night of the session, shows an unselfish heart, somewhat too rare among politicians."

The following incident, occurring several years ago, narrated and published by the president of a literary institution at Valparaiso, in Northern Indiana, is also illustrative of the character of Mr. Colfax:

"As we stepped into the Bank yesterday, we noticed lying on the counter a large and splendid photograph of our noble representative, Speaker Colfax. It is the most life-like picture that we have ever seen of this

honored statesman. But our attention was particularly attracted to the bold and easy autograph of the Speaker, running thus: 'To Mark L. McClelland, from his life-long friend, Schuyler Colfax.' We casually remarked to our worthy citizen, McClelland, that that autograph, so cordial, was a testimonial of personal regard of which any man in the nation might well be proud. Mr. M. raised his ever-busy pen from the bank ledger, and with evident emotion said: 'That is just like Schuyler. We were playmates and debating-school friends in our boyhood, grew up together, he as an editor, and I as a tanner. But our different vocations produced no estrangement. We usually spent our leisure hours together. But soon his industry and talents began to attract attention, and no one rejoiced more in his preferment than I. His reputation soon became national, while I have ever plodded on in private; but in all this disparity I have ever found in him a steadfast, generous friend. From a sense of delicacy, our correspondence would have stopped years ago, had it depended on me; for I have ever felt his superiority, and felt that I might be obtrusive, as I knew that the multiplicity of his engagements and his official duties must occupy his whole time; and that he must find in his extensive acquaintance hundreds more worthy of his attention than I; but he still corresponds with me, advising me of his plans as fully and freely as when we were both poor boys. It is a wonder,' said Mr. M., 'and that reminds me of a little occurrence in a stage-coach, years ago. We accidentally met as we were both going to Indianapolis—he to confer with the magnates of the State on the grave matters of the nation, I to do some private business. As usual the conversation turned on the scenes and events of our

boyhood. While we were chatting over these matters, I could not realize that I was in genial communion with the third man in the nation. I at once fell into moody musings on this strange transition from a playful boy to the sagacious statesman. I was thinking of his steadfast friendship, and was finally roused from my reverie by Mr. Colfax playfully placing his hand on my knee, with the smiling question, 'What now, Mark?' 'I was thinking,' said I, 'how strange it is, in all your preferment, that, surrounded as you are daily with scores of men whose position, influence and profession would necessarily seem to supplant me in your regards, that you still seem to retain for me the same fervor of friendship that you did when a boy.' Grasping my hand warmly, he replied, 'No marvel at all, Mark. *Your* friendship I *know* to be *sincere*, for it sprung up when both of us were boys, in poverty and obscurity, and neither of us could possibly anticipate the future.'

"This little incident gives us a clue to the head and heart of Mr. Colfax. It is a key to his inner life. It discloses to us, without reserve, the generous impulses, the unswerving fidelity, the genial nature, and the unerring sagacity of this noble man. Amid all his honors, he has lost nothing of his *child-like simplicity*, his Christian integrity, his patriotic faith.

"Schuyler Colfax is one of the few of our national dignitaries who ever carries both the head of a man and the true heart of a guileless boy. *Such* a man can never be corrupted, even by the wiles of politics.

"Though this little incident was not designed for a newspaper paragraph, yet, as it is so illustrative of the high-toned nature of Mr. Colfax, we trust our neighbor McClelland will pardon us for giving it publicity."

CHAPTER XIX.

LECTURE—EDUCATION OF THE HEART—THE TEACHER'S VOCATION—ELEMENTS OF WORTH IN CHARACTER—ELOQUENT PLEA FOR THINGS PURE AND GOOD.

A LECTURE by Mr. Colfax, entitled "Education of the Heart," delivered at the commencement exercises of Aurora (Illinois) Seminary, June, 1867, is a plea for things pure and excellent, and of good report, which reflects features of his own character, and makes us more familiar with his worth. In the principles and practices it so eloquently advocates, it is but an expression in words of that which has governed him in his career. This lecture has received high commendation from such men as ex-Governor Boutwell, of Massachusetts, who was also at one time Superintendent of Public Instruction in that State. It has been widely circulated in this country, and has been reprinted in pamphlet form in England:

EDUCATION OF THE HEART.

"In all the realm of animated nature there is nothing so absolutely helpless as a child when it first opens its eyes upon the world. And yet there is nothing of vaster importance. The greatest works of art will perish. The cataract of Niagara will cease to flow. The proudest nation, whose conquering eagles have defied a continent, will pass away. But the sleeping infant, in its mother's arms, enshrines a soul that shall live, in joy or misery, throughout the countless ages of eternity; and may even, in its brief span of earthly years, like Moses, David,

or Paul; or Homer, Plato, or Demosthenes; or Cæsar, Washington, or Lincoln; or Zenobia, Joan of Arc, or Florence Nightingale, *so live* that history shall never tire of the record of its deeds while time doth last or this earth of ours endure.

"We come, too, into this breathing world with good and evil mysteriously combined within us. Our souls are immortal, and we are created in the image of God. But a little time, comparatively, passes by before the child develops temper, self-will, defiance, anger, revenge, in a greater or milder degree, and compels that parental restraint so valuable and necessary in every household. And thus the spirit of Good and the spirit of Evil struggle for the mastery in every heart. With every good impulse drawing us toward the right, and every wicked temptation and unrestrained passion drawing us toward the wrong, we commence the earnest, ceaseless battle for life.

"'Our birth is but a starting-place,
Life is the running of the race,
And death the goal.'

"Properly trained, conscientiously directed, the child grows up into the affectionate, enlightened, energetic, self-denying man or woman, an honor and a blessing to the community, loved while living, and when life's fitful fever is over, remembered by many hearts long after the funeral flowers of the cemetery have blossomed on their grave. But how different his life and character, who, unblessed by healthful and virtuous surroundings, or madly defying them all, cultivates only the evil side of his nature! Like the rank weed of your garden, it soon extirpates all that is good and valuable; and you

see before you a life, of which you cannot truthfully say that it is worthless, because it is far worse.

"All around us we see this contest. And the responsibilities for its results lie at our very door. Whether those who are to come after us shall have every advantage to arm and strengthen themselves against the influence of evil depends in a large degree on the conduct of the generation which precedes them in the family circle, or the wider sphere of the community wherein they dwell.

"It is *men* that make the State. An island full of savages can be nothing but a savage State. Where the people worship idols of wood and stone, mankind call it a heathen State. A country of impure men must be an impure State. But where morality and intelligence prevail, and right bears sway, and conscience is respected and obeyed, the on-looking world recognizes that *there* is a country worthy to be embraced in the circle of Christendom, and to rank high among the civilized States of the earth.

"The hope of any country must therefore always be with its young. With them we see the candle of life, not like us of middle age, half consumed, but just lit; and so to be trimmed that it shall burn brighter and brighter till it expires in the socket. And this fact has been recognized in every age of the world. Heraclitus, who twenty-five hundred years ago was called the crying philosopher, refused to accept the chief magistracy of his nation, preferring to spend his time in educating children than even to govern the corrupt Ephesians. Cataline, when he sought, two thousand years ago, to overthrow the liberties of his country, and—as traitors in our own era have done—to act the parricide toward the land

which had given him birth, and honors, and power, attempted first to corrupt the younger Romans, and thus to win them to his nefarious endeavors.

"If you concede, then—as you must, for history is full of its proofs—that the hope of a country is with its young, how priceless are the hundreds of institutions like this, and the tens of thousands of schools of other grades in which our land rejoices to-day! How truly did Cicero declare: 'Study cherishes youth, delights age, adorns prosperity, furnishes support in adversity, tarries with us by night and by day, and attends us in all our journeyings and wanderings!' And again, when on another occasion that eloquent orator eulogized Wisdom: 'For what is there,' said he, 'more desirable than wisdom? What more excellent and lovely in itself? What more useful and becoming for a man? or what more worthy of his reasonable nature?' And, in the inspired record, Solomon, in even a loftier strain than the master of Roman eloquence, exclaims: 'Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding. For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold. Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honor. She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her, and happy is every one that retaineth her. Exalt her, and she shall promote thee. She shall bring to thy head an ornament of grace. A crown of glory shall she deliver to thee.'

"Recognizing, as I trust all of you do, without further argument or illustration, that the mind, like the earth, yields the richest fruit only when cultivated, I wish to improve this opportunity, accidentally opened to me, by

a few remarks, first to the Teachers, and lastly to the Taught.

"Of all the earthly professions I know of none more honorable, more useful, wider-reaching in its influence than the profession of the teacher. If faithful in this vocation, he has a right to claim, as John Howard did, that his monument should be a sun-dial, not ceasing to be useful even after death. He is to so fill the fountains of the minds committed to his charge that from thence shall ever flow streams fertilizing and beneficent; and he is to be the exemplar for the young before him in healthful moral influence, which is the foundation of character.

"As no one is fit to be an officer in war who has not heroic blood in his veins, or to be an artist who has no esthetic taste, or to be a poet who does not understand the power of rhythm or meter, or to be a historian or a statesman without a broad and comprehensive mind, so no one should be a teacher who has not a heart full of love for the profession, and an energy and enthusiasm willing joyously to confront all its responsibilities. It requires great patience, untiring industry, abounding kindness, pure unselfishness, and fidelity to duty and principle. And when happily combined, success is absolutely assured.

"And first let me say, as children resemble their parents in feature, so will they resemble in character the teacher who trains their youthful years. If that teacher has an excess of the gall of bitterness instead of the milk of human kindness, its daily exhibition will assist in the development of the evil side of all who witness it. But if, on the contrary, he or she brings sunshine into the room when they enter—diffuses happiness, by genial

conduct, on all around them—plays on the heart-strings of their pupils by the mystic power of love—the very atmosphere thus created will be warm with affection and trusting confidence; and that better nature which is ever struggling within us for the mastery over evil, will be strengthened and developed into an activity which will give it healthful power for all after-life.

"It is for this reason the teacher should ever be just what he would have his pupils become, that they may learn by the precept of *example* as well as by the precept of *instruction*. He should find the way to the heart of every one within his circle, and lead him thereby into the walks of knowledge and virtue, not *driving* by will, but *attracting* by love. And if he searches faithfully he will find the heart of even the most wayward. It may be overlaid with temper, selfishness, even with wickedness; but it can be, nay, it *must* be, reached and touched.

"The teacher, too, should be an exemplar in punctuality, order, and discipline, for in all these his pupils will copy him. He can only *obtain* obedience by himself obeying the laws he is to enforce. A minister who does not practice what he preaches will find that his most earnest exhortations fall heedless on leaden ears; and children of both a smaller and a larger growth quickly detect similar inconsistencies. Whoever would rightly guide youthful footsteps must lead correctly himself; and one of our humorous writers has compressed a whole volume into a sentence when he says, 'to train up a child in the way he should go, *walk in it yourself*.'

"Finally, let the teacher, recognizing the true nobility and the far-reaching influence of his profession, stretching beyond mature years, or middle age, or even the last of earth, and beyond the stars to a deathless eternity,

pursue his daily duties with ardor, with earnestness of purpose, with tireless energy. And let him feel that as a State is honored by its worthiest sons—as Kentucky enshrines the name of her Clay, and Tennessee her Jackson, and Massachusetts her Adams, Webster and Everett, and Rhode Island her Roger Williams, and Pennsylvania her Franklin, and Illinois her Lincoln and New York and Virginia their scores of illustrious sons—so will his pupils rise up to honor him if he so trains them as to be worthy of their honor. Success *will* be his if he but deserves it. Governor Boutwell, who added to his fame as chief magistrate of Massachusetts by gracing for years the superintendency of her unrivalled educational system, said truly and tersely: 'Those who succeed are the men who believe they can succeed; and those who fail are those to whom success would have been a surprise.'

"I pass from this rapid review of the duties of a Teacher to a few thoughts addressed more especially to Students. Let me leave the beaten road of educational addresses, and saying nothing of history, geography, grammar, astronomy, mathematics, the languages, and other special accomplishments, ask your attention to *characteristics* that it seems to me should be cultivated and developed. Not that I would not inculcate, primarily, every possible acquisition of knowledge. Learn all we can in a life-time, and we shall feel at last like that eminent and self-taught Grecian philosopher, Socrates, who said that all he professed to know was that he knew nothing; or as Isaac Newton more strikingly expressed the same idea in his oft-quoted simile, that he felt like a child on the shore of time, picking up a few pebbles, while the great ocean lay unexplored before him. But I would improve

these passing moments by some suggestions as to those elements of character and thought that seem essential to a well-rounded life. And in using the masculine in referring to students as well as teachers, I do it for brevity only, intending of course to include both sexes. For neither sex is inferior or superior as such. Man is fitted by nature for rough contact with the world. Woman for the more graceful duties of the domestic circle. Man for the hard, stern, laborious labor of life. Woman to really rule the world, by being the mothers of those who are to govern it.

"Conspicuous among these characteristics is the duty of Self-control, and its natural offspring, Self-reliance. The great maxim of Socrates was, 'Know thyself'—the famous inscription on the Delphic temple, which the ancients claimed came down from the skies. I cannot, in a brief address, even allude to all which is embraced in these two comprehensive words—self-control. The inspired record declares in language which combines counsel with prophecy: 'He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.' You *must* master yourself. You *must* rule your passions and your temper, or they will rule you. It is strength to have moral principle. It is strength to stand up against shocks of adversity. It is strength to be calm and self-contained, even when the arrows of malice pierce you most cruelly. It is strength to perform your whole duty to man without hope of reward. The man of unbending moral principle is a real hero. The man who stands erect, with his heel on the demon of temptation, hydra-headed as it is, is nobler and stronger than the most gifted statesman or the conquering chief. The taint of sin gives all of us

passions, temper, and evil, and opens a hundred avenues to the tempter. To close them all, and to live true to yourself and the right, is to bless your own heart while you bless mankind. Your character is to be built up like a dam in a river. While being compacted and solidified, the restrained waters, like evil passions and wicked impulses, seek to break through; a single breach, and it widens; and at last the torrent destroys. But guard against the smallest fracture, and it is safe, and strengthens year by year, until at last, firm as the anchored rock, it breasts the mightiest floods and freshets unharmed. Without this enlightened, unyielding self-control, our life is like a ship, without compass or rudder, blown about by every wind, and at last wrecked upon the beach. But with it, it is like the same ship with a safe, strong arm at the helm, that holds her to her course when the storm-cloud lowers or the angry gale seeks to drive her toward the breakers, that avoids the shoals and hidden rocks, and brings her safely into port.

"In this endeavor fail not to war against Vice in all its myriad forms. Evil is often robed in splendid attire; but however gorgeous the monumental shaft, yet within is always corruption and decay. The apple may appear tempting and beautiful to the eye, but if the canker-worm is at the core, it is destined to a rottenness no earthly power can avert. It is the *first* approach, too, which should be most sternly repulsed. Each temptation, from without or from within, which moral rectitude enables us to resist, leaves us that much stronger for the next encounter. But woe to her or him who yields. At each successive attack the moral stamina becomes weaker and weaker, as the walls of even a Sebastopol lose their pro-

tective value whenever a single breach in them is made. How truthfully has a gifted poet declared:

> "'We are not worst at once. The course of evil
> Begins so slowly, and from such slight source,
> An infant's hand could stem its breach with clay.
> But let the stream grow deeper, and Philosophy,
> Aye, and Religion, too, shall strive in vain
> To stem the headlong torrent.'

"All writers on education agree that the chief means of intellectual improvement are five: Observation, Conversation, Reading, Memory, and Reflection. But I have sometimes thought that educators did not bring out the two last into the commanding and paramount importance they deserve, sacrificing them to a wider range of reading and of studies. Knowledge is not what we learn, but what we *retain*. It is not what people eat, but what they *digest*, that makes them strong. It is not the amount of money they handle, but what they *save*, that makes them rich. It is not what they read or study, but what they *remember*, that makes them learned. And memory, too, is one of those wondrous gifts of God to man that should be assiduously cultivated. Much of your mental acquisitions will form a secret fund, locked up even from your own eyes till you need to bring it into use; a mystery that no philosopher has yet been, or ever will be, able to explain. There it lies hidden, weeks, months, years, and scores of years, till mayhap a half century afterward it bursts when needed, at memory's command, upon the mind like a hidden spring bubbling up at the very hour of need in the pathway of the thirsty traveller.

"While I have counselled self-reliance, and would go further and urge you to labor to deserve the good

opinion of your fellow-men, I do not counsel that longing for Fame which is so much more largely developed under our free Republic than in any other realm upon the globe. Lord Mansfield once uttered as advice, what history teaches us he should have declared as an axiom, that that popularity is alone valuable and enduring which follows you, not that which you run after. It was Sumner Lincoln Fairfield who wrote:

> "'Fame! 'tis the madness of contending thought,
> Toiling in tears, aspiring in despair;
> Which steals like Love's delirium o'er the brain,
> And, while it buries childhood's purest joys,
> Wakes manhood's dreary agonies into life.'

"Far be it from me to counsel longings for such a fame as this. 'Toiling in tears, aspiring in despair' is but a poor preparation for the enjoyment of popular honors or the performance of public trusts. And there is an exceedingly better way. It is to climb, young men, with buoyant heart, the hill of knowledge. It is to boldly scale the Alps and Apennines which ever rear themselves in your pathway. It is to feel your sinews strengthen, as they will, with every obstacle you surmount. It is to *build yourself,* developing mental strength, untiring energy, and sleepless zeal, fervent patriotism, and earnest principle, until the public shall feel that you are the man they need, and that they must command you into the public service. And if perchance that call should not happen to come, and you should be forced to remain an American sovereign instead of becoming a public servant, you shall have your reward in the rich stores of knowledge you have thus collected, and which shall ever be at your command. More valuable than earthly treasure—while fleets may

sink, and storehouses consume, and banks may totter, and riches flee—the intellectual investments you have thus made will be permanent and enduring, unfailing as the constant flow of Niagara or Amazon; a bank whose dividends are perpetual, whose wealth is undiminished, however frequent the drafts upon it, which, though moth may impair, yet which thieves cannot break through nor steal. Nor will you be able to fill these storehouses to their full. Pour into a glass a stream of water, and at last it fills to the brim and will not hold another drop. But you may pour into your mind, through a whole lifetime, streams of knowledge from every conceivable quarter, and not only shall it never be full, but it will constantly thirst for more, and welcome each fresh supply with a greater joy. Nay, more. To all around, you may impart of these gladdening streams which have so fertilized your own mind; and yet, like the candle from which a thousand other candles may be lit without diminishing its flame, your own supply shall not be impaired. On the contrary, your knowledge, as you add to it, will itself attract still more as it widens your realm of thought; and thus will you realize in your own life, the parable of the Ten Talents, for 'to him that hath shall be given.'

"I cannot pass by in silence another characteristic so necessary for a worthy, useful, honored life. It is that Moral Courage which sustains those who stand frankly, fearlessly, inflexibly for what their conscience tells them is right. *Vox populi* has not always been *Vox Dei*, and when it requires of you what duty to yourself or your country forbids you to perform, it is *Vox diaboli*. From the graves of the fathers of our land come the words both of instruction and example; teaching us rather to

imitate, as they did, the fearlessness of Paul when he stood, proudly and alone, before Felix, than the craven cowardice of Pilate when he shrunk from what he confessed to be his duty before a blinded and infuriated populace. Truth may have, as in the olden time, but a single worshipper, while Baal has his thousands of priests. And the man who stands fearlessly for the right amid the devotees of wrong; who wars, single-handed if need be, against tyranny or treason where evil and injustice have their legions of minions; who loves the good and follows in its ways because it is the right, and eschews error and wickedness however easy or profitable may be its service; who calmly and confidently looks to the future for his vindication; and who, like Christian, in that sacred Iliad, the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' presses forward in the journey of life with steady and fearless step, regardless of Apollyon, of Vanity Fair, or even the giant Despair—*that man*, whether in palace or cottage, under a republican or despotic flag, the most learned or the most illiterate of his land, is the true moral victor on the battle-field of life. He shall have his reward; for in that land where the streets are gold, and the gates are pearl, and the walls are jasper and sapphire, his star of victory shall shine brighter and brighter; while the laurels of sceptre and of crown, of office and of fame, shall wither into the dust and ashes out of which they were formed.

"How forcibly were all these duties imprinted on my mind while listening, some years since, to a lecture for young men from that twice-repeated proverb of Solomon, 'There is a way that seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of Death!' And as these ways were pointed out, I was reminded of one of

the precepts of that eminent philosopher, Pythagoras, who, though born in Samos nearly six hundred years before the Christian era, converted by his teachings a wicked and corrupt nation to sobriety, virtue, and frugality, and whose quaint simile seemed to be based upon that very inculcation of the Old Testament. It was, 'Remember that the paths of virtue and of vice resemble the letter Y.' Starting at the same point, the roads soon diverge to the right and to the left. It was Persius, I think, who, hundreds of years afterwards, wrote of this precept:

> "'There did the Samian Y instruction make,
> Pointed the road thy doubtful foot should take,
> There warned thy faltering and unpractised youth
> To tread the rising right-hand path of Truth.'

"Thus shall you win the noble attribute of virtuous self-reliance—not the arrogance of egotism and the vanity of self-esteem—but the manly independence of a manly mind—the fidelity to your own conscience and to principle—the assurance that if you have planted yourself on the rock of Truth, if you have armed yourself with the panoply of Justice, if you have guarded yourself with the shield of Right, 'even the gates of hell shall not prevail against you.'

"Nor can I leave this boundless theme, which widens before me as I progress, without alluding to that Duty which towers above all others, both in the magnitude of its sphere and the commanding authority of Him who proclaimed it. Up through the long procession of centuries our mind travels back to the sacred mount where the assembled multitudes from Galilee, and Decapolis, and Jerusalem, and Judea, and from beyond Jordan, listened reverently to Him who spoke as

never man had spoken before. And after that striking exordium of blessings, and the subsequent inculcations of love, of charity, of concord, of forbearance, of humility, and of prayer, he opened the peroration of that extraordinary discourse which stands without a rival in the realm of sacred or human eloquence, with that which he announced as the embodiment and concentration of all:

"'THEREFORE *all* things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them; for *this* is the law and the prophets.'

"Some there are who regard this comprehensive rule of action and of life as paraphrased from that eminent and learned Chinese philosopher, Confucius, who, five hundred years before, had laid down as a maxim that none should do unto their fellows what they would not have done to themselves. But apart from the broad distinction between the affirmative command of the one and the bare negation of the other, the rule itself, thus laid down on the Mount, is but a repetition and condensation of what the Creator had declared to Moses, in the tabernacle of the Congregation, a thousand years before Confucius lived and died: 'Thou shall not defraud thy neighbor, neither rob him;' 'Thou shalt not avenge nor bear any grudge against the children of the people.' And then, rising from the language of prohibition to that of command, here, in the same spirit as on the Mount fifteen centuries after, the conclusion of the whole matter is, 'But thou *shalt* love thy neighbor as thyself.'

"Such is the Rule of all Rules—the Duty of all Duties—the Law of all Laws—for human conduct in this wide world of ours. How it sparkles in its brilliancy, in

contrast with the Iron Rule of tyranny, which teaches that 'might makes right!' How it glows in the firmament, when compared with what has been called the Silver Rule of the earth, which bids you to mete out to others as they have measured to you! Rightly has the whole civilized world recognized the inspired command as indeed the Golden Rule. And if lived up to by all on earth, what a paradise would it make of this globe! May it ever go before you as the pillar of fire of old, guiding your footsteps as well as governing your lives!

"I cannot close this address, which you have already found has treated of the education of the heart more than of the mind—the moral nature more than the intellectual—without insisting that all of you have it in your power to make this world happier and better by your presence in it, and that you have no right to hide this power in a napkin. Look around you on every side as you go out from these walls into the busy world. You will find some, selfish, cold, austere, repulsive, forbidding. No noble charity affects their souls. No unselfish deed warms their natures. No generous act unlocks their hearts. No blessings are invoked upon their heads. Living for self alone, they carry with them to their graves hearts of steel and faces of iron. But there are others active in every good word and work. Is there a cry of distress? They do not lecture the unfortunate, but promptly proffer the helping hand. Is there misery to be assuaged? Is there a wounded heart that needs the oil of consolation? Do the rough winds of adversity smite their neighbor?—and all mankind is your neighbor. How cheerfully they speed on the errand of humanity! How joyously they go forth on their labor of love! My

young friends, the true felicity of this world is in making others happy. It is this which fills your own soul with joy. It is this which causes a constant influx of gladness into your own heart. For in blessing others you bless yourself. To me the most beautiful couplet in the English language is—

> "'Count that day *lost* whose low descending sun
> Views from thy hand no noble action done.'

"None of us can live up to this noble lesson of life fully; but in *striving* towards this ideal you shall diffuse a genial sunshine around you, which will make you, in many hearts, beloved while living and mourned when dead. Lord Bacon said most beautifully that 'man's heart was not an island, cut off from all other lands, but a continent which joins them.' And if you will thus, while educating the intellect and enlarging the *mind*, and filling yourselves with the priceless knowledge you acquire here, and which is to fit you for useful members of society hereafter, also educate the *heart*, widening the sphere of your affections and the scope of your duty to the less fortunate, who are ever near to your very doors, you shall all

> "'Earn names that win
> Happy remembrance from the great and good—
> Names that shall sink not in oblivion's flood,
> But with clear music, like a church-bell's chime,
> Sound through the river's sweep of onward-rushing time.'"

CHAPTER XX.

FIRMNESS AND BOLDNESS — TESTIMONY OF COLONEL FORNEY—MOTION FOR MR. LONG'S EXPULSION—PRESENTATION OF SILVER SERVICE TO MR. COLFAX—SPEECH BY MR. M'CULLOCH—RESPONSE BY MR. COLFAX—A FRIEND'S SONNET.

MR. COLFAX is a man of benevolent disposition, of genial kindness and crystal-like purity; he is also a man of iron firmness. His adherence to principle is unwavering, and his boldness in maintaining that, which in his conviction, is right, dauntless. Colonel Forney, writing of him in connection with the performance of his duties as Speaker in the Thirty-eighth Congress, said: "He has been the embodiment of the war policy of the Government."

In April, 1864, Mr. Long, of Ohio, made a speech in the House of Representatives, virtually declaring the rebellion right and the war for the Union unjust and wrong; that the names of our battle-fields were synonymous with disunion instead of union. The speech seemed in fact almost like the unfurling of the Confederate flag on the floor of the House. Without consultation with his friends upon the subject, Mr. Colfax, under an imperative sense of duty to the country and to the soldiers that were in the field and before the enemy, calling upon another member of the House to preside, left the Speaker's chair, and upon the floor of the House made a motion for the expulsion of Mr. Long as an unworthy member, and supported the motion with a speech. The following are its opening paragraphs:

"MR. SPEAKER: 'Where are we?' was the emphatic question propounded by the eloquent gentleman from the first district of Ohio [Mr. Pendleton] on Tuesday last. I answer him: We are in the Capitol of our nation. We are in the hall where assembles the Congress of this Republic, which, thank God, in spite of conspiracy and treason, still lives; in spite of enemies, open and covert, within and without our lines, with and without arms in their hands, still lives, and which, thanks to our gallant defenders in the field, will live as long as time shall last. 'Where are we?' said he. I will answer him in the language of his colleague, [Mr. Long,] whose speech is under review:

"'From the day on which the conflict began up to the present hour, the Confederate army has not been forced beyond the sound of their guns from the dome of the Capitol in which we are assembled. The city of Washington is to-day, as it has been for three years, guarded by Federal troops in all the forts and fortifications with which it is surrounded.'

"And yet, sir, while we are thus placed; 'in this fearful hour of the country's peril,' as the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Long] says in the opening paragraph of his speech; while the scales of national life and death are trembling in the balance; while our veterans are at the front seeking to save the life of the country, and willing to seal their fidelity, if need be, with their heart's blood; with the enemy almost at the very gates of your Capital; at such a time as this the gentleman from the second district of Ohio rises in his seat and declares that our Government is dead; nay, more, that it is destroyed; and then, having thus consigned it to death and destruction, he avows boldly that he prefers to recognize the

nationality of the Confederacy of traitors, which has caused this alleged death of the Republic, to any other alternative that remains."

The following extracts from Mr. Colfax's speech exhibit both his unyielding firmness in duty and his true kindness of heart:

"The gentlemen on the other side, every one, indeed, who have referred to it at all, have been kind enough to speak of my impartiality as the presiding officer of the House. I thank them for this testimonial, which I have endeavored to deserve. But at the same time most of them have expressed 'regret' that I left the Speaker's chair and came down upon the floor of the House. I have, however, no regret. I did it in the performance of what seemed to me an imperative duty, from conscientious conviction, and from no personal unkindness toward the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Long]. I have no personal unkindness toward him or any human being who lives upon the earth.

"If my course is a disgrace, you can fix the brand on my forehead, and I will wear it through life, nor do I want any prouder epitaph on my tombstone than that I dared fearlessly to stand up here and do my duty according to my convictions. [Great applause.]

"Mr. Speaker, I desire that the rules of the House forbidding applause should be obeyed. Gentlemen on the other side have been displeased with the galleries during the past few days. We have sat here, sir, when those galleries glowered with hate in their eyes upon those who spoke for freedom, and applauded to the echo those who spoke for slavery, and never were they cleared but once, to my knowledge. It is unseemly for the

galleries to indulge in applause or censure for what occurs upon the floor; and I would rather have the 'God bless you' of some poor soldier's widow who had seen in her desolate home that I stood up for the cause for which her husband fell, or the 'God bless you' of the soldier on his dangerous picket duty in front of our army, guarding the sleeping host with his own life, than the applause of these galleries, crowded as they are with talent, heroism, and beauty."

One of the most interesting debates of this eventful Congress followed this speech of Mr. Colfax. During the course of the debate, his resolution of expulsion was, with his consent, modified to one of censure, in which form it was passed by a large majority.

On Saturday evening, May 7th, 1864, a large number of the citizens of Indiana, resident in Washington, including many ladies, the wives and daughters of those citizens, met at the house of Mr. Colfax for the purpose of testifying their high appreciation of his public services and private virtues. Their testimonial was a set of silver of beautiful design and exquisite workmanship. On the salver was this inscription:

"Presented to Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the Thirty-eighth Congress of the United States, now and for many years a faithful representative of the Ninth Congressional District of Indiana, eminent in the councils of his country, her able and patriotic defender, and the Soldier's Friend. From citizens of his own State, who recognize in him all that is generous and just, and unwavering devotion to principle and duty. May 7th, 1864"

The following presentation speech was made by the Hon. Hugh McCulloch, of the Treasury Department:

SPEECH OF MR. McCULLOCH.

"Mr. COLFAX: I have the honor, and I feel it to be an honor, to present to you, in behalf of a few of your Indiana friends, a testimonial of their appreciation of your services to the nation, and their admiration of your public and private character. I remark that this offering is from a *few* of your friends, because, had it been generally known in Indiana that it was our intention thus to express our regard for you, and each subscription had been limited to the smallest sum known to our currency, so numerous are your friends there, that this tribute of affection and esteem would have been far more costly and elegant than it is.

"The inscription upon it indicates that this 'service of plate' is presented by citizens of our State to you as Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, the Representative of the Ninth Congressional District of the State of Indiana, and the Soldier's Friend. But, if I correctly interpret the sentiments of your other friends by my own sentiments, this tribute is not bestowed merely nor chiefly because, contending against the disadvantages under which you labored in early life, you bravely fought your way from the printing-office of a small western village, in which you were a youthful pioneer, to places of high honor and trust; not because you have for many years ably represented the same district in the Congress of the United States; not because you are now filling the chair which has been occupied by many of the noblest and most talented men

of the nation, and are so discharging its difficult duties as to challenge the admiration of even your political opponents; but because, in every step of your upward career, you have been true to your convictions of duty; because, (alas, that the rarity of such virtue should make the exhibition of it so great a compliment to you,) with all the opportunities you have had for making your distinguished positions contribute to your enrichment, there is no stain upon your reputation; because you have done no public act which your severest friends could wish undone, and because you stand before the country a type of the self-reliant, unassuming, patriotic American citizen.

"It is not strange, sir, that the friends who have known you from boyhood, and been acquainted with the struggles of your early life; who have witnessed your ability as a debater before the people and in the national councils, the rapid strides you have made to the high position you are now filling with such distinguished ability, and have marked especially your fidelity to principle, your personal integrity, and your earnest and active loyalty; it is not strange, I say, that these friends should be proud of you, and seek an occasion like the present to manifest their appreciation of your merits.

"But, sir, this testimonial is not presented to you, as to one who, having run a career of honor and usefulness, is about to retire from public life, to rest upon the laurels he has won. Never did our beloved country need the services of her able and loyal sons as she needs them to-day. Never were honest, self-sacrificing, patriotic men for the cabinet, the halls of legislation, and the field, so necessary as at the present time. When eleven

States of the Union have thrown off their allegiance to the Government and the Constitution, and are engaged in a rebellion, at the magnitude and vindictiveness of which the civilized world stands aghast; when in the loyal States so many of our people seem to prefer the success of a party to that of the nation, or attempt to bribe a doubtful loyalty, if not sympathy with the rebels, under the cover of fidelity to the Constitution; when, by so many claiming to be loyal, personal gain is pursued at the expense of the nation's credit, and the public interest is made subservient to private interests, the appeal of the country to her true sons to stand by her with firm hearts, and strong arms, and honest purposes, can be neither honorably nor safely ignored.

"Unless I overrate the strength of the rebellion and the desperate energy of its leaders—unless I greatly misapprehend the nature and magnitude of the work to be done after the rebellion is crushed, in permanently establishing our institutions upon the basis of universal freedom and equal rights, and in restoring the needful checks upon the authority of the rulers over the rights of the people, which must necessarily be disturbed, if they do not happen to be wantonly disregarded, in such a war as is now being waged upon our own soil—unless I am too apprehensive in regard to the future—great trials are before us as individuals and as a nation—great trials during the continuance of the war, and perhaps still greater trials after the war has been successfully closed; trials that will test the endurance, the loyalty, the virtue of our people, as they have never yet been tested. But I have an abiding faith that the people of the free North will be equal to the work that is before them; that success will not intoxicate nor reverses dis-

hearten them; that, whatever may be its cost, they will continue the war until the rebellion is subdued and the integrity of the Union is assured; and that, when this is accomplished, they will be able to correct whatever tendencies to centralization, and to interference with the rights of the people and the rights of the States the war may have brought about.

"It will continue to cost, as it is now costing, blood and treasure to crush out this unnatural revolt, but it must be crushed, because the existence of the Government, if not the cause of civil liberty in the United States, depends upon its being crushed, and because it will be less costly to do it than would be the anarchy and perpetual war which would be the result of its success.

"When the war is concluded, there will be required wisdom and statesmanship and patriotism, to place the credit of the nation upon a solid basis, to restore the proper checks upon Executive power, to subordinate the military to civil authority, and fix the condition of rebellious States; but wisdom, and statesmanship, and patriotism, were not wanting in the organization and establishment of the Government, and they will not be lacking in reforming and perpetuating it.

"The Republic is not to be overthrown by the desperate efforts of a proud aristocracy to roll back the free, progressive spirit of the age, and to establish upon the ruins of a part of our giant nation a despotic confederacy whose corner-stone and cement are boastingly proclaimed to be human slavery. Love of the Union in its entirety, and of constitutional liberty, is engraven upon the hearts of the people of the North, and, with the

blessing of God, both shall be preserved to them and their descendants.

"But, sir, whatever trials may be before us, we know where you will be found. During the war we shall hear your voice in the halls of legislation and before the people, rebuking treason, strengthening the faint-hearted, and inspiriting the loyal at home, and sending words of cheer to our gallant soldiers in the field; and when peace is restored to us you will be, what you have been in the past, a tribune of the people, a champion of popular rights and of constitutional liberty.

"It is because we hold you in this high estimation, and are confident that your conduct in the future, both in private and public life, will be, as heretofore, patriotic, honorable, honest, upright, that we tender to you this plate. It will doubtless be less valued by reason of its intrinsic worth than as an evidence of the feelings that have sought expression in the presentation of it. Accept it, sir, with the cordial greetings of the donors, and their heartfelt wishes for your health and happiness."

REPLY OF MR. COLFAX.

"My Dear Sir, and Ladies and Gentlemen, or, rather, let me drop this formal appellation, and call you by the more endearing title of Friends: I scarcely know how to thank you for the magnificent and costly testimonial you have presented me to-night; for when the heart is full the tongue would fain be silent. Valuable as is this gift intrinsically, it will ever possess to me a more exceeding worth, because it came from friends of my own State, and is a spontaneous offering of their friendship and affection. It reminds me of beloved

friends beyond the mountains as well as here; of those who are with us to-night in heart, but not in person. And, as I look around the circle, I see in it familiar faces, many who have known me from the days of my childhood till now, who have been friends of my youth as of my middle age, and whose attachment has been unshaken as the hills, growing stronger and stronger as the years rolled by.

"To know that you think me worthy of such a testimonial is one of the most gratifying events of my life, measured though it is by your friendship instead of any merits of mine. It will be a new incentive so to live that neither you nor any of those you represent will ever have cause to regret this distinguished mark of your confidence and esteem. While I live I will cherish this gift as the most valued of my life; and, when I shall pass away and join those who have gone before, though I cannot leave it to any who bear my name, I shall take care that it shall be preserved as an enduring testimonial of your friendship and generosity.

"You must allow me to add that, though thus appreciating your abundant kindness, and feeling within this circle that electric thrill that betokens heart answering to heart, my thoughts to-day and to-night have been with our brave soldiers at the front, who there interpose their manly forms between their country and the enemies who are seeking its life and theirs. All through the long hours of this day, warmed with the premature heat of midsummer, till the shadows lengthened with the returning eve, and the twilight darkened into night, my heart has been with these gallant defenders of the Union in all their dangers and their sacrifices. To-night they may be clustered around their bivouacs—

they may be in the sharp conflict, bearing aloft their nation's banner amid shot, and shell, and flame—they may be hurriedly following a retreating foe—or, alas! they may be lying on the battle-field, their bodies mangled with rebel bullets, and their sightless eyes upturned towards that dim unknown to which their souls have already gone. May Providence 'cover their heads' in the day of battle, and give them victory over those hosts before them, led on by chieftains who have been foresworn; victory for an imperilled but not destroyed Union; victory over a gigantic conspiracy to blot the nation from the map of the world; victory which shall turn back the tide of rebel success, and restore peace and unity to a distracted land.

"Napoleon, under the shadow of the mysterious Pyramids, stirred the hearts of his soldiers by that striking sentence: 'Soldiers, forty centuries look down upon you to-day.' But, if the spirits of the great and good are permitted in that better land above to feel an interest in the regions where they won their immortal fame, Washington and his brave compatriots look down to-day upon the heroes of the Republic who are striving to save from destruction a land hallowed by their sacrifices and re-sanctified by the precious blood spilt in its defence.

"I feel, sir, an honorable pride in your remark that my most critical friends have seen no act of my life which they could wish had been unperformed. I have striven, sir, as you have with such generous partiality affirmed, to be faithful to principle and duty, however thick-set might be the thorns in the pathway. But even more valuable and gratifying is that portion of the inscription on the service of plate which speaks of me as

the 'Soldier's Friend.' In private and in public life I have endeavored so to act, feeling constantly, however, that the debt of obligation to them was too heavy ever to be repaid in deeds. And with my whole soul I can say that I value that title more than office, or honors, and would rather be bound to their hearts and yours, 'with hooks of steel,' as Shakspeare writes, or rather with the unseen but no less potential heart-strings of affection, than to enjoy any distinction or earthly fame.

"Accept, sir, and all of you, my grateful acknowledgments, and believe me, that to have a home in the hearts of friends who regard me as worthy of their love and esteem; who feel that they rejoice over any success that may come to me in life; but who also share with me in my sorrows, and lighten care by their sympathy and affection, is, of all thoughts, the most inspiriting, and more priceless even than silver or gold. And when, at last, about to enter on that sure estate, which all of us onward travellers to the grave are destined to inherit, if I may know, when passing away, that you will remember me as one who did his duty faithfully and fearlessly, I shall feel that, perhaps, I have not lived entirely in vain."

At the conclusion of the speech of Mr. Colfax the company partook of a sumptuous banquet, and the festivities were prolonged to a late hour by conversation and interchange of social greeting. Many Senators and Representatives were present, and also Bishop Simpson, for many years a sincere and valued friend of Mr. Colfax. A sonnet, from a friend of Mr. Colfax, at South Bend, having more reputation as a writer of truth than poetry,

read upon the occasion, formed (said the Washington *Chronicle*) a pleasant ending to its report of this very agreeable event:

> Colfax, thy past has won the Speaker's chair
> And honor's post, in these eventful days;
> Thy virtues beam from thee, as silver rays
> From stars, that gem the night. Thy gifts are rare,
> And precious is their fruit. Thou art the clear
> Persuasive orator of right; the pure,
> Unsullied patriot; the changeless, sure,
> And genial friend; to many hearts how dear;
> Full well thou knowst the vanity of earth—
> Thou dost not seek its wealth, nor high renown,
> Nor taste its sparkling cup of madd'ning mirth;
> But in the sacred use of life, dost strive
> To serve thy country and thy race. Far down
> The ages, shall thy name in memory live.

CHAPTER XXI.

RE-ELECTION OF MR. LINCOLN PENDING—MR. COLFAX NOT PERMITTED TO WITHDRAW FROM NOMINATION FOR CONGRESS—OPENING SPEECH OF THE CANVASS AT PERU, INDIANA.

DURING the summer and fall of 1864, the great political contest for the re-election of Mr. Lincoln and sustaining the Government in its war with the rebellion was waged. In this contest Mr. Colfax took an active and earnest part. It had been his desire to withdraw from Congressional life. He had frequently expressed such desire to his constituents, and on this occasion published

a card, declining a renomination. They were, however, unwilling to consent. Mr. Colfax yielding to their unanimous nomination, became again their standard-bearer, not only for the Congressional but national conflict. His opening speech for the canvass was made at Peru, Indiana, August 20th. Reporters were on the ground from Cincinnati and Chicago to report it for the daily papers of those cities. It was the first speech of the great national canvass made by any one of national reputation. Its theme was, "The duty of standing by the Government." It was plain, forcible, direct; free from all low and slang phrases, a characteristic feature of all of Mr. Colfax's speeches. Its arguments fell like grape and canister in the ranks of the opponents of the Government. It shows the character of the opposition to the war, and brings into the light of history the secret dangers that imperilled the country. It is a fair specimen of the oratory of Mr. Colfax upon the stump and of the efficient character of his innumerable campaign speeches. It is not in as fine and polished a style throughout as many other speeches of Mr. Colfax; but as Mr. Lincoln said of the term "sugar-coated," when requested to strike it out of one of his messages to Congress, as undignified, that the people would understand it, this speech was understood by the people and appreciated by them. It confirmed the convictions and kindled the enthusiasm of its many thousand hearers. It was very widely read and esteemed very effective. The following report of it is from the Cincinnati *Gazette:*

"STAND BY THE GOVERNMENT."

"Mr. Colfax has just begun to canvass his district for re-election to Congress, against David Turpie,-Peace

Democrat, whom he beat in 1862, when the Democracy swept nearly every thing before it in his State. He preferred to retire from public service, but his constituents insisting upon his nomination for this once more, in view of the critical condition of affairs in Indiana, he accepted the nomination as an obligation, and has resolved on performing his share of the duty necessary before the election, as he does every thing, thoroughly and well.

"The following speech, relating as it does to our national affairs, as well as to the local politics of Indiana, will be perused with interest by all our readers:

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: I can sum up all I intend to say this afternoon in four expressive words. They are, 'STAND BY THE GOVERNMENT!' You have just passed a resolution tendering thanks to your heroic defenders in the field; and never in the hour of our country's trial were its defenders worthier of such expressions of gratitude from those for whom they suffer, for whom they fight, and for whom they fall. But if you believe these resolutions in your heart of hearts, as you do, you will send to them in October a more emphatic resolution—a resolution coming from the ballot-box. [Cheers.] You will tell them, that as they confront the enemy in front with bullets, you will confront the sympathizers and abettors of their rebel enemies with ballots in the rear. [Cheers.]

"When I say to you 'stand by the Government,' I give to you all the counsel that any man could give to his fellow-men in an hour of peril like this. What are we without Government? It is Government that protects your property, for without Government you would be on a shoreless sea of anarchy, and your nation a mass of

ruins; your title-deeds worthless as Confederate scrip; your lives at the mercy of midnight assassins, with guerillas to drive you from your homes, and light up your pathway to places of refuge by the flames of your burning dwellings. Every thing that is sacred and dear to us is protected by the Government. Yet rebel armies are in the field to-day. What for? To overthrow and destroy the Government. Union armies are in the field. What for? To protect and maintain the Government, and save the country from national destruction. And yet, up and down the highways and by-ways, you hear men talking about 'peace,' 'crying peace, peace, when there is no peace.' And when you analyze their peace, what is it? It is peace with the rebels, but war with your Government and its brave defenders. Know you not this to be true? Read the platforms adopted by every convention calling itself Democratic that has recently assembled. What are they? Condemnations of the treason that seeks to destroy our Government? Denunciations of the war upon the Union, and appeals to their followers to stand as one man around our imperilled flag? No, none of that. They denounce the way the war is managed for the preservation of our nation, but not one word against the way the war is managed for the destruction of the Union. Their mouths are filled with invective against your Government, that is endeavoring to save the nation from disruption and death. To this contest there can be but two parties. The one, call it by whatever name you please, are rebel-haters, and I am one of these. [Cheers.] And the other, sugar-coat it as you may, cover it with some respectable name of the past, are rebel-helpers, whose arguments and course strengthen the rebellion, and weaken the

power of the Government to put down the rebels. Into these two great associations the people of the loyal States are necessarily divided. Choose ye this day on which side you will enroll yourselves.

"THE FIERY TRIAL OF WAR.

"We have, unhappily, a civil war in this country. We had hoped to escape such a conflict of blood. All other nations of which we read in the past or present have had to pass through this deep red sea of war, to prove their strength and maintain their positions in the family of nations. This has been the case with England, France, Spain, Russia, and every other nation in the world. They have had to prove they were strong enough to put down foes at home as well as foes abroad. You had hoped you were to be spared this sad affliction; for we of this nation had a Government felt only in its blessings, like the atmosphere surrounding you, strengthening, and invigorating, and giving life. These blessings were poured out like the brimming waters of the rivers pouring their fulness into the seas.

"Now how changed the scene—and why? What right of any one has been stricken down? None, by the testimony of their own rebel Vice-President Stephens, given in the Georgia Convention. Their rights had been guarded, instead of destroyed. They had had the Government of our country mainly in their own hands, but they had determined to overthrow it when they could no longer rule it. That was their intention at first, and when at last it burst like a thunder-cloud upon the land, your President, sworn by his oath to maintain the laws, the Constitution, and the integrity of the Union, drew the sword and called upon you, not for a war of

offence and aggression, not for a war of hate and malignity, but to rally around your country in a war of self-preservation. And for having thus appealed to you to maintain your banner against every odds, steadily preserving the sanctity of his oath, and keeping before him as his duty, the maintenance of the nation—for having, like Varro, never despaired of the Republic—he is covered with invective and vituperation by those among us whose sympathies are with the country's enemies instead of its friends.

"Who is your President? He is a man selected to stand for, and speak, and act, in behalf of the imperilled nation. He is the arm of your country, by which it strikes enemies abroad as well as at home. And is not the man who seeks to weaken his power, to sow discord and opposition to him, imperilling his power and strengthening the foe? I ask if that man is not responsible for the bloodshed and devastation of this war? On the contrary, is not the path plain for every patriot? Is it not to stand by the President, for the Government's protection? You can no more fight the battles for the preservation of the country without standing by the President than you can fight the battles in the field successfully without standing by the General commanding the army. And so far as you strengthen the arm of the President, so far as you give it power, energy, and force, by rallying around him and sustaining his hands, as Aaron upheld the hands of Moses in the wilderness, so far you give strength to the power of your country in this trying crisis.

"WHO AND WHAT ARE DEMOCRATS?

"I wish to read, in your hearing to-day, a resolution

of the convention which nominated my competitor for Congress. But, before doing it, let me say that I do not charge upon all Democrats that they are false to their country. Many thousands of them have thrown off the shackles of party, and stand, not only in civil but in military life, for the maintenance of 'the banner of beauty and glory.' There stands Butler, a Democrat of the olden time. But when he is willing to give his life for the Republic—no sooner does he leave his party than he is denounced by those whom he has left; and they quote every malignant denunciation of the rebels against him, and 'Butler the beast' is the favorite epithet they apply to him. So, too, General Dix, and many other distinguished Democrats, besides those in this State, your Hovey and others, who have shown their devotion to their country, are not regarded in good political standing. So, too, with Stanton, Governor Wright, and Dumont and Holt, and Cathcart of your own district. But no sooner do they step out and rally under the stars and stripes than they are denounced as Abolitionists, for the purpose of weakening and destroying their influence among those with whom they formerly associated. But while this has been the case, I will lay down three propositions here, and no man, whether editor of your Democratic paper, or your public speakers, will challenge the truth of either of them:

"1. Every man who is a leader in the rebellion in the South, as President, Vice-President, member of the Cabinet, Speaker of the House of Representatives, the heads of their armies, every one of them is a Democrat of the olden time. [Great cheers.]

"2. Every man they relied upon in the North, when they drew the sword of treason against their country,

and raised their banner, red with blood, is a Democratic leader to-day.

"3. The administration that was in power when the rebellion broke out, which could, by prompt and vigorous means, have crushed it out in its infancy, as Jackson crushed out nullification and treason in South Carolina thirty years ago—that administration which looked on with closed eyes and ears, allowing the rebellion to go on, and doing not one thing to save the Union from destruction, was in all its parts Democratic. [Cheers.]

"And further: every man that stood up in Congress in that dark winter, when State after State was seceding, and said, 'No coercion—you cannot coerce a sovereign State—they may talk treason here in the Capitol as much as they please, and draw the sword of rebellion in the face of the Government without hindrance'—every one was a Democrat. And yet they talk about this being a Lincoln war!

"REPLY TO THE VALPARAISO RESOLUTIONS.

"I wish now to read the twelfth resolution of the convention which, in July last, nominated my competitor. And I will say here that my speech to-day will be unlike his; it will not be filled with abuse and denunciation of him, as I am not in the habit of denouncing a competitor behind his back. As to discussing the questions before the country in a debate with him, I have told him that, whenever he desired a joint canvass, I will accept it. I never challenge a competitor, but always accept all challenges given me. At any rate, I shall not imitate a bad example by denouncing him.

"This convention of his, after passing a variety of resolutions against the Government and denouncing the

war, passed the following, in reference to an individual of whom you have some knowledge:

"'12. That Schuyler Colfax, for his attempt to abridge the right of free discussion in the halls of Congress, his base subserviency to the reigning despotism at Washington in its attempts to destroy the rights and liberties of the people, manifested by his justification of the suppression of the writ of *habeas corpus*, the arbitrary arrests of unoffending citizens, the emancipation proclamation, the placing of negroes on an equality with white men, by arming and incorporating them into the army, the confiscation of property without notice of legal process, and the interference of the Federal Government with the internal affairs of the several States, merits the reprobation of an indignant and outraged people; and having shown himself unworthy the confidence of a free people by his betrayal of their dearest rights, we hereby solemnly pledge ourselves to the most energetic and unceasing efforts to secure his defeat at the ensuing election.'

"FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN CONGRESS.

"The first issue, 'his attempt to abridge the right of free discussion in the halls of Congress,' I accept, and say, before discussing the point, that I stand here not as the result of my own choice. Having been honored by your votes with a seat in the halls of the national Congress for many successive terms, I would have been only too willing to retire and let you select some one else among you to fill that position. But when you insisted I must once more accept, and having asked others to accept more perilous positions, I could not refuse. I come not here, however, to ask your votes for any mere personal considerations; for what are men, and private interests, in times like these? I come here to appeal to

you to stand by your country and your soldiers in the field. If my political grave was yawning before me, I would have accepted the duty assigned me, with the same determination as now to do my duty, and to say to you that the first, second, and last duty of every man at this time is, to stand by your Government.

"This resolution charges me with attempting to abridge the right of free discussion. That is, because I dared, when the Confederate flag was virtually unfurled in the halls of Congress, and heard a Representative from Ohio declare that your Constitution was dead, your Republic destroyed, that the men who took the amnesty oath were justified in disregarding it—when I heard these things, I made up my mind that he should receive, if possible, the condemnation of the American Congress. [Great applause.] I have no regrets to offer for that act. I reflected on the matter before offering the resolution; and, though Speaker of the House, I saw no reason why that should prevent me doing a duty that lay before me. If I had supposed any man would have insisted that because Speaker I had no right to stand by my country, on the floors of Congress as well as elsewhere, I would not have accepted the position. I was sent there to speak and vote for the people of this District, and have learned never to shirk a duty that it seemed imperative for me to perform.

"Let me read to you something of this free speech which is so sanctified and endorsed by the convention at Valparaiso. Said Mr. Long: '*There is not one single vestige of the Constitution remaining.*' That is of our own Constitution. And if there is not, what is there left in this land that holds us together as a Government? Why none but the Montgomery constitution, the traitors'

constitution. It is the only one remaining upon the American soil. But this was not all. He goes on to say that his 'convictions of the *complete overthrow of the Government* are as unwelcome and unpleasant to me as to any one in the House'—declaring that your Government was completely overthrown. 'I shall not refer,' said he, 'to the controversy as to who is responsible for the *destruction of our Government.*' And this was proclaimed by a man who had recently taken an oath that he would stand by the Constitution and the Union, and not give aid or comfort to the enemies against it.

"He said, furthermore, 'so it will be with the man who is forced to take the amnesty oath to save himself and family. *He may take it, but in his heart he will despise the authority that requires it.*' Could there be more said to encourage the rebels to go on in their work of destruction? Further he says:

"'What our people desired in 1861, and which I honored, though regarded as *mistaken, was the preservation of the Government,* and the retention of our jurisdiction of the whole territory.'

"And yet, in 1863, though he thus declares he was not for the preservation of the Government, he took an oath as a member to stand by the Constitution. I said he was an unworthy member of that Congress, and the majority of the House of Representatives agreed with me and voted for the resolution. I stand by that resolution to-day. They say it was an attempt to abridge the right of free discussion. How suddenly they become converts to the right of free discussion! There was, some years ago, a member from that same State of Ohio, Mr. Giddings, who offered a resolution in regard to the

Creole case, and the right to hold slaves on the high seas under our State laws. And this same party that is now so careful of the right of free discussion in favor of traitors, and who affirm on the floors of Congress that your Government is dead, these men by a party vote of censure, drove that member from his seat. They were not so much in love with free discussion then. A few years ago a Massachusetts Senator was struck down in the Capitol by one of this party, two Representatives of the lower house performing and abetting the act, the intention being to murder him, but they failed in the attempt. And when a resolution was introduced to censure and expel these men for the brutal act, not simply a resolution expressing the views of Congress as to a certain speech, but for the infamous outrage upon a fellow-member, every one of that party voted against expulsion. But when it has come that free speech, in their view, means the advocacy of treason, then they go to Valparaiso and pass a resolution throwing the shield of their protection over such men.

"There was another man in the House of Representatives—Harris, of Maryland—who said in that debate, 'All the South ask of you is to let them live in peace; but no, you say you will bring them into subjugation. But it is not done yet, and *God grant it never may be done.*' And when he thus appealed to God to render victorious the armies of the South in this conspiracy, he was allowed to retain his seat there, and draw money out of your treasury, paid in by your taxes, by the votes of those Democratic members who said we cannot interfere with free speech. It was then that I thought the time had arrived when Congress should express its ab-

horrence of such treasonable language, and I am willing to accept the issue made against me in reference to it.

"DESPOTISM AT WASHINGTON.

"The next count in the indictment is 'base subserviency to the *reigning despotism* at Washington.' They call your administration, which is struggling to save the life of the nation, a 'reigning despotism!' Where did they find such language? It is the language used by that chief of traitors, Jeff. Davis. How could they aid the rebel cause more effectually than by such language? If they could make your soldiers believe it, they would lay down their arms and let their country be destroyed. It is because your soldiers know how false all this is, that they stand there still, not despairing, but with their hearts full of hope that final triumph over all their country's foes await them. When the rebels read this it will give them fresh hope, and they will be nerved thereby to bitterer hostility. When it goes abroad, and is read beyond the ocean, will it not help to strengthen their cause there up to that point of recognition, of which there has been so much danger?

"'His base subserviency!' What have I done to deserve this charge? My crime is, that I have stood by your President, the administration, and the armies of the country, in every attempt to put down the rebellion, and, God helping me, there I shall stand to the end.

"SUSPENSION OF THE HABEAS CORPUS.

"'In its attempts to destroy the rights and liberties of the people, manifested by his justification of the suppression of the *habeas corpus*.'

"I do justify the suppression of that writ, and we have

illustrious examples of its suppression in the past history of the Government. We have the indorsement of it by the Democratic party, when that name meant something different from what it does to-day. What says your Constitution? It is so plain that no school-boy can fail to understand it. 'The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, except when in time of insurrection or invasion the public safety shall require it.' And the President who would not suspend this writ, when the safety of the nation demands it, is a traitor in his heart. It is the President's imperative duty to do every thing that is necessary for the preservation of his imperilled land. You shoot a deserter who leaves your army, and is your Government to be powerless against the man who by his speeches and letters encourages that poor boy to desert? They say you must have the case come before the judges of the courts. How would it have been in Maryland, when Marshal Kane and his confederates blocked up your way to the Federal capital, and telegraphed for more rebels to come down from the mountains of Maryland and murder your soldiers? Suppose they had taken him before some disloyal judges; they, holding like views with him in regard to the Federal authorities, would have released him, and he would only have renewed his outrages. But the President arbitrarily arrested him, as he ought to have done. The only complaint I have to make against the President is, that he has been too lenient instead of too severe. Look back to the time of Jefferson, the father of the old Democratic party. In the Burr conspiracy, he, by military power, when the country was at peace, with no armies upon its soil threatening the existence of our Government, arrested the supposed conspirators,

brought them to Washington, and held them there under the eyes of the United States courts, and the Democratic party said Amen, and gave the proceedings their support. So in 1812, when Jackson, not as President, but as commander of a military department, suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*. He arrested a judge and the lawyer who counselled the issuing of the writ, and held them within his military lines; and when peace was declared, he kicked them outside his camp. What said the Democratic party about that? More than all things else he had ever done, it helped to make him President of the United States, and properly enough too. And if Jackson had been President in 1860–61, he would have arrested these traitors in the halls of Congress, and would have attacked Charleston when the first secession convention was in session there. [Cheers.] The whole Democratic party in Congress worked for years, until they refunded to Jackson the fine imposed upon him by the court for the arrest of that judge.

"More than this, George B. McClellan, when commanding your armies in the East, himself arrested, not mere citizens, but the Legislature of the 'sovereign State of Maryland,' who were about to pass an ordinance of secession. You know that with their peculiar notions, learned from Calhoun, about following a State, if that State had passed an ordinance of secession it would have been doubly difficult to have saved Maryland and your Capital besides. But McClellan arrested the disloyal majority of that Legislature, and locked them up in Fort McHenry till their term expired. Yet, in the eyes of these gentlemen, McClellan is a patriot,

while Lincoln, who has not done an act half as severe as this, is denounced as a 'reigning despot.'

"ARREST OF UNOFFENDING CITIZENS.

"The resolution further charges the administration with sustaining the 'arbitrary arrest of unoffending citizens,' and denounces me for indorsing it. What, '*unoffending*' citizens? Men who are secretly plotting treason against your Government, giving aid and comfort to the enemy. President Lincoln did not hang them, but locked them up where they would be powerless for evil. How is it they have so much sympathy for these sympathizers and traitors, unless they are jointly interested with them in their work?

"THE EMANCIPATION POLICY.

"The next thing in the charges is my justification of the Emancipation Proclamation. I did, and do still, indorse it. Slavery had proved itself the strong arm of this rebellion. It was slavery that gave rise to this conspiracy at first; it was slavery that gave strength to their armies in the outset, and it is slavery that has sustained its armies in the field during all the war, by their labor on the plantations at home, as well as in camp, in their ditches and on their fortifications. It was slavery that created the fortifications from behind which the death-dealing guns of rebels carried the messengers of death to your brothers and sons, and mourning to many of your households. It is slavery that has loaded you with taxes and filled your graveyards; and it constitutes the sinews and strength of the rebellion still, so far as it has not been destroyed.

"Mr. Lincoln tried for eighteen months to save the

Union and slavery with it. His Generals returned fugitive slaves; they repulsed from their armies fleeing negroes that came to them with valuable information; they guarded rebel property from molestation as sacredly as they would have protected their own. The President pursued a kind and tender policy to the last moment it was practicable, hoping the disunionists might be turned aside from their determination. And when at last he became convinced that the Union and slavery could not be saved together, he gave them one hundred days' warning, and said, 'If you will not lay down your arms, and return to your allegiance to the Constitution and laws of your Government, and cease murdering Union soldiers, I will, when the one hundred days expire, strike with the battle-axe of the war-power your slave system.' The one hundred days expired without acceptance of the terms, and he then allowed negro soldiers to be incorporated into the army, and issued the Proclamation. And yet, these Northern abettors of secession denounce it. They seem to have more care for the salvation of slavery than for the preservation of the Union.

"NEGRO EQUALITY AND CONFISCATION.

"They go on, in their resolution, and say: 'The placing of negroes on an equality with white men, by arming and incorporating them into the army.' I plead guilty to that, too. I am in favor of employing every means within our reach to put down this rebellion—but of this I will speak presently.

"'The confiscation of property without notice of legal process.' Again we see their tender solicitude about these rebels; for, if anybody's property has been

confiscated, it has been that of the rebels, with their hands dyed in the blood of loyal citizens and patriots, seeking to violate their oaths in the past, that they may find with surer certainty the nation's heart with the dagger's point. They object that their property has been confiscated without notice of legal process. Suppose we had tried that process, and sent down your United States Marshal to notify Gov. Letcher that we were going to confiscate his property, how would he come back? A head shorter, if he came back at all. Remember that *no confiscation bill was passed by the Federal Congress until a year after the rebels passed an act confiscating every dollar of Union property in the South.* Wherever Union men could be found, their farms, city property, stocks, personal effects, all were swept into the coffers of Jeff. Davis. After persisting in this work for a year, and driving Union men by hundreds from their homes, then, only following their example, Congress passed this confiscation act which so much excites the indignation of these men of Valparaiso.

"After having indorsed all this, they say that Schuylar Colfax 'merits the reprobation of an indignant and outraged people.' I have thought, as I looked into your faces here to-day, that there were a good many of you who did not feel very indignant at my course against traitors. [Cheers.] I have no more fears of going before the people this fall, upon the issues made by that convention, than when at other times you have elected me your Representative. [A voice, 'We'll elect you again, too.'] I hope you will, but I hope far more than that, that our country will be preserved and the Government sustained.

"'We hereby pledge ourselves to the most energetic and unceasing efforts to secure his defeat.' They need not have put that in; you knew it before they resolved it; they have always heretofore done so, and nobody doubts that they will redouble their efforts this fall.

"CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS THE CAUSES OF THE WAR.

"I now come to another resolution of the Valparaiso Democratic platform:

"'2. That the present civil war is the legitimate result of the teachings and blasting influences of Abolitionism, which has been sown broadcast through church and school for the past quarter of a century, until the doctrine of an irrepressible conflict has become the faith and corner-stone of a great sectional party.'

"This resolution is plainly, palpably, undisguisedly a deliberate attempt to relieve the would-be murderers of their country's liberty from the guilt of having themselves brought on this civil war. It is saying to the rebels: You have been right in taking up arms; the crime is in these churches and schools, which have brought the war upon the country.

"But here is another resolution that was passed in Congress, in July, 1861, with but two dissenting votes, the Crittenden Resolution. This famous resolution, fully answers this Valparaiso resolution, for it says: 'This deplorable war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in revolt against the Constitutional Government, and in arms around the Capital.' If this be true, and you know it is, then the other is false. The one says this war was brought on by the Southern disunionists; the other says

it was brought on by the teachings of Abolitionists in church and school. Choose ye between them, for by your votes you are to affirm the one or the other.

"Again: Here is the testimony of a man who was the Ajax Telamon of his party in the day in which he lived, who declares, in the last speech he ever made, at Chicago, in June, 1861

"'*The slave question is a mere excuse. The election of Lincoln a mere pretext.* The present secession movement is the result of an enormous conspiracy, formed more than a year since—formed by leaders in the Southern Confederacy more than twelve months ago. But this is no time for detail of causes. The conspiracy is now known; armies have been raised, war is levied to accomplish it. There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. *There can be no neutrals in this war—only patriots or traitors.*'

"Now, Douglas meant what he said there; and I believe that the men who rise up after his death and say that this war was not commenced by the disunionists of the South, but was the work of the Abolitionists of the North, deliberately attempt to deceive the people, and prove themselves worthy of the condemnation his language pronounces against them.

"A TRUE SKETCH OF THE WAR.

"Need I go briefly over the facts of the history of this war? These men charge that this war was brought upon us by Northern Abolitionists. Why, when they were down at their Charleston Convention, in 1860, what did we see? They were there in a family party with the rebel leaders, and what did those traitors say to their fellow-Democrats of the North? They said, we

demand two things; give us them, and you can have peace; if not, we will divide the party first, and the country afterwards. The first thing was to throw Douglas overboard; and the second was, give us a slavery protection platform. The Northern men refused to yield to their demands. Why didn't they throw Douglas overboard, and give them some guarantee for the protection of slavery? If they were so fond of compromise and concession, why didn't they give these Southern men all they asked? They had it in their power to keep their party united, but they voluntarily broke it up. The result was, that the day after Lincoln's election over their thus divided party, these Democratic leaders raised their rebellious flag in Charleston and lit the torch of civil war in the land; and in doing that, they lit, too, the funeral-pyre of slavery.

"There was the President, charged with the duty of saving your nation. What did he, James Buchanan, do for his country? He sat there, looking on with closed eyes, refusing to lift a finger to put down the rebellion; and it went on gathering strength. State after State went out of the Union by their secession ordinances. Senators and Representatives left Congress with words of treason on their lips, going South. They held their Confederate election while Buchanan was still President; and on the 18th of February, two weeks before Lincoln's inauguration, they installed Jeff. Davis in his seat, and the rebel Congress assembled. Then they called for thirty thousand men to form their army, when you had six thousand, all told. All over the South they took your forts, custom-houses, mints and money, and tore down your flag. All this was done in Buchanan's administration.

"Nor is this all. You have read the history of civil war in other countries, but you never before heard of one so atrocious as this, in this particular, that when these men were striking at the existence of their own nation, your chief officers of State, installed in the highest places of trust and profit in the cabinet of your country, gave them direct aid in their work of destruction. Look at that rebel cabinet, as week after week it assembled, with Buchanan in their midst. There was Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, who went to New York professedly to borrow money, and told the leading financiers that the country was tumbling into ruins, that he believed the unity of your country was then at an end; the consequence of which was, that at the end of Buchanan's administration, when they sought to borrow five million dollars, there was offered but two million, and for that twelve per cent. interest was demanded.

"Next was Floyd, Secretary of War, who, all through 1860, was preparing for this work of rebellion, by shipping the arms, paid for by you, down South, and filling the arsenals in the South with munitions of war. The very guns that murdered your soldiers in the opening of the war, were guns paid for by your taxes, and bought for your defence. More than this, he scattered your armies so that Mr. Lincoln, when he came into office, would be powerless for the defence of the Government. One-fourth of the army was in Texas, where the traitor Twiggs surrendered them; but, to the honor of your private soldiers be it said, that though they were tempted with every inducement to forsake their loyalty to the Government, and threatened with starvation if they did not, they steadfastly refused. Though im-

prisoned for fifteen months, there was not a private soldier who would turn his back upon his country. [Great applause and cheers.] Regiments were sent to California and elsewhere, so that Mr. Lincoln could not find two regiments, when necessary, for the protection of the Capital.

"There was also the Secretary of the Navy, Isaac Toucey. He scattered your navy to the China seas and to the East Indies, where they would be out of the reach of the new administration; and the day he went out of office, Lincoln could not find a single frigate, except the Brooklyn, and it was found that she drew too much water to enter Charleston harbor. If there is a man who doubts this, let him read from Buchanan's message of January, 1861:

"'Even now the danger is upon us. In several of the States which have not seceded, the forts, arsenals, and magazines of the United States have been seized. This is by far the most serious step which has been taken since the commencement of the troubles. This public property has long been left without garrisons and troops for its protection, because no person doubted its security under the flag of the country in any State of the Union. Besides, our small army has scarcely been sufficient to guard our remote frontiers against Indian incursions. The seizure of this property, from all appearances, has been *purely aggressive*, and not in resistance to any attempt to coerce a State or States to remain in the Union.'

"Mr. Buchanan acknowledges it was aggressive, and not defensive; and yet he saw preparations for this unholy war go on without lifting his hand against it. When Lincoln came into office, he stood on the steps of the Capitol, almost amid the crumbling pillars of the

American temple, your Government bound hand and foot, ready to be delivered over to traitors. Nothing but the providence of Almighty God saved your country from complete destruction in those first hours of Mr. Lincoln's administration. Still he spoke for peace. On the 18th of February, Jeff. Davis said, 'The day for compromise has passed, and those who now resist us shall smell Southern gunpowder and feel Southern steel.' Two weeks afterward, in his inaugural, Mr. Lincoln said, 'There shall be no bloodshed unless you yourselves precipitate the country into it.' His counsels were for peace. He longed to put aside that bloody cup of war and save you from its dregs. But at last, on that fatal Sunday in April, when that little company of men in that fort in the harbor of Charleston, with the flag they loved raised above them, and their commander on bended knee, imploring the blessing of God to enable them to protect it, eleven fratricidal batteries opened upon them, when, as the rebel leaders had been told, they could in two days have taken possession by the starvation of its garrison, without firing a shot. But a leading Virginian had been down there, and told them they must have blood, in order to drive Virginia out of the Union. And those guns were your guns, forged under the flowing folds of the stars and stripes; and the men who trained them were men you educated at West Point, at the national expense, who proved false to their oaths as well as to their country; and they aimed their guns, not at the fort alone, but at the nation's heart.

"Nor was this all. After the work had been commenced, the rebel Secretary of War shouted with exultation in the streets of their rebel capital: 'The war has now been commenced. In a month we shall

march on to Washington, and in the month of May dictate terms of peace in Independence Hall, in Philadelphia.' When that threat was made, that the Capital of your country was to be captured, and that terms of peace were to be executed in Independence Hall the month afterward, then Lincoln reluctantly put aside the olive branch, and appealed to the sword for your country's protection and defence. What else could he have done, and been faithful to his oath? If he had stood still, as Buchanan did before him, the whole nation would have been destroyed; the rebel armies would have overrun your soil, and you become the serfs and vassals of Jeff. Davis. It is owing to Mr. Lincoln's taking upon himself the responsibility, that we can say to-day our country has a Capital and its Executive a home.

"This is not all. I want to show you that every iota of blame for all the carnage of the last three years of war has been on the heads of the traitors of the South and their vindicators in the Valparaiso Convention and elsewhere in the North. When they assembled in Congress after the election of Mr. Lincoln, they professed to be alarmed about their rights. They said they knew our policy was to maintain the territories for freedom, but we assured them that the Chicago platform meant only resistance to further aggressions of slavery. Then they said you have personal liberty bills which are dangerous to our rights as citizens. Then Congress passed a resolution appealing to every State having such acts on their statute books to revise their legislation on this subject, in order, if possible, to avoid civil war. It was an overture for which every supporter of Mr. Lincoln, Lovejoy and myself included, voted. Then they said, 'We don't like your doctrine prohibiting us

from taking our slaves into the territories.' It was a principle dear to our hearts, for we wanted to preserve those territories as a heritage for freedom for your children and your children's children. But we responded, saying, 'For the sake of peace we are even willing to yield that point,' and we passed bills organizing all the territories left in the country, without a single word prohibiting slavery in any of them, and said to them, 'Will you not now be content?'

"The next thing was, 'We fear your growing power in the North.' Then was passed, by a two-third vote in both houses of Congress, a Constitutional amendment, which, when ratified by a requisite number of the States, would have provided that slavery shall never be interfered with by Congress in the States in which it exists. Was not this going to the last verge of concession? But when we had done all this, they turned around and said, 'If we would give them a blank sheet of paper on which to write their own terms, they would not stay with us with Lincoln as President of the United States.' And they went on with their unholy work.

"Yet we are told in this resolution that the civil war upon us is 'the result of the teachings and blasting influences of Abolitionism, which has been sown broadcast through church and school for the last quarter of a century.' Three or four years ago I read in the *Richmond Examiner* the following, never dreaming that I would find the same idea advanced in print in this ninth Congressional district of Indiana.

"'We have got to hating every thing with the prefix *free*, from free negroes down and up through the whole catalogue. Free farms, free labor, free society, free will, free thinking, free children, and free schools—all belong

to the same brood of damnable isms. *But the worst of all these abominations* is the modern system of FREE SCHOOLS. The New England system of free schools has been the cause and prolific source of the infidelities and treasons that have turned her schools into Sodoms and Gomorrahs, and her churches into the common nestling-places of howling bedlamites. We abominate the system *because the schools are free.*'

"Who can question the affinity between the writer of the above and the men who passed the Valparaiso resolution, denouncing both church and school as the cause of this war? Sensible and reflecting men know that they have been the nurseries of liberty, morality and good order. You who do not belong to any church are yet willing to concede that the organization of churches in our midst tends to promote good order, peace, and harmony. And you know, too, whether you have children to send to school or not, that the schools of a community enable those who come after you to become useful and worthy members of society; that they are the palladiums of our liberties, and we are prouder of them than almost any thing else we have to leave our descendants. But these men who have nominated my competitor denounce them as the cause of the civil war, thus echoing the tirade of the organ of the rebellion against every thing that is free. [Cheers.] I need not add more. The bare presentation of this coincidence must excite your condemnation. Still, you have to approve it by your votes in October, or trample it under foot in your indignation.

"EQUALITY OF BLACK AND WHITE MEN.

"I now come to the following resolution:

"'6. That we oppose the abolition policy of freeing

and arming the slave against his master, as only tending to widen the breach between the States, and that we denounce every policy that will directly or indirectly or in its tendency place the black on a military, political and civil equality with the white.'

"Negro equality is the constant theme of those who can only revile the Government, and my opponents have ingeniously introduced it into this resolution. I frankly say to you to-day, that the black man who is willing to give his heart's blood for his country is a thousand times better than the rebel white man whose hand is red with the blood of his neighbors. Sympathizing with the masters of the slaves as they do, these men among us don't want the slaves freed, put into our Union armies, or employed in the fortifications. They would prefer to have them remain slaves, that they may continue to raise food for the support of the rebel troops fighting and slaughtering your sons who stand for the defence of their country. They are opposed to our arming the slaves, because thereby we swell the number of the Union army, and diminish and weaken the armies of the enemy. I am in favor of freeing and arming every slave against his rebel master and for the country.

"For my part, I am willing to use every means in our power to strengthen our armies for the putting down of the rebellion. I would free every black man in the South, and put him in your armies to assist in saving your country from being blotted from the world. And if these men at home opposing us had joined with us, and aided in organizing the colored troops, instead of having a hundred thousand, we might have had two or three hundred thousand. And now, if Atlanta and Mobile were to fall within the next few weeks, the

Government would obtain the military control of a district in which there are large numbers of slaves; and if the Government proceeds to organize them into regiments and brigades, and they are all willing to fight, when it is for their country and their liberty, it might save you from this draft, and not only so, but allow thousands of your war-worn friends to return. I would rejoice at such a result; but how would it be with the men who passed the resolution under consideration? They would raise some fresh denunciation of the administration. If you could organize a hundred thousand mules that would kick this rebellion to death, I would be glad to have them do it. [Cheers and laughter.] I do not believe any rebel in the South is too good to be shot by a loyal negro, and I do not understand why these men are so opposed to having the negro fight for the Union, unless they don't want the Union preserved. They don't want to go themselves, and object to having the negro go. Still they say this is a war for the negro. It is not; it is a war for the Union. You know how rejoiced they are when they find any evidence that the negro soldier will not fight. They did fall back at Petersburg, and I regretted to hear it, because that reverse prevented us from taking the place, perhaps. But the negroes were not the attacking column; they were the supporting column; and white troops fell back also from the crater of the mine that was exploded. And here I would have you listen to the testimony of the New York *Herald*, which is not at all friendly to the negro:

"NEW YORK HERALD ON NEGRO TROOPS.

"'In connection with the story of alleged demorali-

zation, justice compels it to be added that no troops ever made a finer charge than that made by the colored troops on the enemy's first line, directly following the mine's explosion. It is true they fell back after the second charge, but it is also true that in no charge made in this war, have troops been under such a severe and murderous exposing fire of musketry and shrapnel.'

"They fell back in a panic which often overtakes troops of all kinds. I do not call negro soldiers better than white ones. If I were compelled to express my opinion, it might be that those of my own color are better and braver. For I have always told you, in spite of charges to the contrary, that while I believed in equality under the law for the poorest and humblest, I believed the Anglo-Saxon race was intellectually superior to all other races that walk on the foot-stool of God. That the negroes do fight bravely and heroically, is as true as that the sun shines in the heavens. They have proven it at Port Hudson, Milliken's Bend, Lake Providence, Newbern, etc.; and at Olustee, Florida, the colored soldiers in the rear saved the entire army. It was only yesterday you read in the despatches that at Dalton, Ga., our soldiers were attacked—one hundred and fifty of them—by a largely superior force of the enemy. Refusing to surrender, they were about being beaten, when a negro regiment went out from behind the fortifications, and repulsed the superior forces of the enemy. Let these facts be remembered by those who oppose the use of the negroes in our armies. If they were friends of the Government, they would welcome all the aid the negroes could afford us. At Bunker Hill, negroes fought along side of Warren, and he did not think himself disgraced by them. In 1814, at New Orleans, negro soldiers

fought along side of Jackson. He did not think it 'abolition policy' to arm them. On the contrary, they proved their heroism there, and in general orders he returned them thanks for their bravery. On the lakes, under Perry, when he broke the British power and achieved his great victory, sending up this heroic message, 'We have met the enemy and they are ours,' negro soldiers and sailors fought by his side. He was proud of them. And the Virginia Legislature not only called negro soldiers into the field, but passed an act emancipating every slave who had fought for his country. Washington appealed to Rhode Island to furnish a battalion of negroes in the revolutionary war. The history of our country is full of instances of this kind. But now when summoned to the field to put down this rebellion of the slaveholders, these men denounce it, because forsooth it weakens the rebels and strengthens the armies of the Union. Suppose their house was on fire, and some negroes in the vicinity; do you think they would allow them to assist in putting it out? I apprehend they would. Why, then, when your great national fabric is in flames, do they oppose allowing negroes to pour out their life's blood in putting out the fire that imperils this edifice?

"It was a great question before the administration, whether we should allow rebels to use their slaves against us, or we use the slaves against them. I believe the administration solved it correctly, and I stand by it. You have heard a great deal said about negro worshippers in the past. I think that when white men go forth from their homes, families and business, to lay down their lives, if need be, in order to save their country, nobody worships the negro so much as those who refuse to

allow them to go into your armies to share the burdens and sacrifices of the contest. When the bill for this purpose was before Congress, every Democrat voted to strike out the word 'negroes,' while the rest of us voted the other way, and said, 'let the negroes be enrolled, too; let them take their share in fighting for the Union.' (Cheers.)

"THE WAR NOT SUCCESSFUL.

"But we are asked, 'why are you not yet successful? You have been fighting now for three years, and you have not accomplished any thing.' In the first place, they ignore all the triumphs of the past two years—that we have won an area of country larger than England, France and Austria combined, that our armies have cut their way to the Gulf, opened the Mississippi river, and bisected the realm of this rebellion. They ignore the fact that 800,000 square miles held by the Confederates have been reduced to 300,000, and all their military power is now confined to that narrow region between the Atlantic seaboard and the Alleghany Mountains, and between Richmond and Atlanta. Suppose our cause had been reduced in the same way; suppose they had pressed us back to the bounds of the Northwest, so that our flag dare not wave, except so far as Northern guerillas, if we had such, might carry it; suppose they had pressed us out of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois, until our whole military power was locked up in New England and New York; suppose they had our seaboard blockaded, except two or three ports; and suppose the last of our able-bodied men, down to sixteen years old, had been swept into our armies as they are in the Confederacy—for they can only make a draft now

upon their cradles—then our cause would be in the condition of their cause. They have fought worthy of a better cause; yet they have been pressed down, as we now see Sherman pressing them towards the heart of Georgia, where they are losing one hundred per cent. more than our armies lose in their engagements. And yet we are asked, Why are you not successful?

"UNITY OF REBELS NORTH AND SOUTH.

"I wish we had been more successful, and I will tell you how we could have been more successful. If we had followed the example of the South, who have been united as one man; if the whole North in patriotism had been as much united as the rebellion in treason, they would have been crushed at the outset. If we had had unity at first, and afterward harmony and concord of action, the rebellion would have been put down long ago. While the South has made business of war, having their seacoast blockaded, their commerce and business generally suspended, except such as has been necessary for the support of their armies, and directed all their energies against us in the North, we have had not only to fight rebellion in the South, but to contend with disloyalty, cupidity, and perfidy at home. Go to the South and you will hear them denouncing Lincoln as a tyrant; and in the North you hear the same language. Go South, and you will hear them denouncing the legislation of Congress; in the North you hear the same language, or worse. Down South they weaken your armies by confronting them in the field with musket and cannon; up North you find them seeking to weaken those same armies by encouraging desertion. Have you not seen those letters, written by men in the North, encouraging

your boys to desert; which, patriots as they are, the soldiers send back to be published, to the everlasting disgrace of their authors. (Cheers.) These men of the South and these men of the North, seem like the two blades of a pair of shears, pressing together to cut the map of your country in two. (Cheers.)

"THE PEACE OF DEATH.

"A few words on the question of peace. We all long for peace, and none more so than the administration and its supporters. I am opposed to all wars, except defensive wars. I am not in favor of the next war, or any other, except it be for the defence of our country. I do not believe in a war of aggrandizement, of conquest, or of hate. And I would not have asked any father here to give his son to the present war, if it had not been a war to save a great nation from death. It is sad to see a soldier die, on the battle-field or in the hospital; but sadder is the death of a great nation, with all its histories of a glorious past, and its ripening harvest of a still brighter future. Such a death is one at which the world indeed might sorrow. It was to save our country from this death that we embarked in this war, and it is to avert this great calamity that the war must be prosecuted to the end.

"THE WAR NOT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY.

"Oh, but they say, you made this war to abolish slavery. I deny it. They bring a document, written by Mr. Lincoln, on the 18th of July last, to prove it. But I ask you to remember that their denunciations of this war were just as bitter before as since that document was written. I hold in my hand the Democratic plat-

form of 1862, nearly six months after the introduction of the Crittenden Resolution, which is as full of denunciations of the war as the resolutions of to-day.

"NIAGARA PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

"A few weeks since certain commissioners, or men pretending to be commissioners, claiming to be the bearers of propositions of peace, appeared at Niagara Falls, and through Mr. Greeley, asked a safe conduct to Washington. When their request was granted by the President, on condition that they were duly authorized by the rebel authorities to treat for peace, they replied that they had no authority of the kind, but believed if they could be taken to Washington, and from thence through our lines to Richmond, they could procure such authority. The inference was unmistakable that they were spies, seeking to make observations, and the President sent back this declaration:

"'To Whom it may Concern:

"'Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive Government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on substantial and collateral points.'

"Now you will have heard, on every highway and by-way, in every town and hamlet throughout the land, since the publication of this document, that Lincoln is prosecuting this war to compel the South to free their negroes. I deny that Mr. Lincoln, in laying down these terms, indicated that no others would be considered.

He simply carried out the counsels of his chief military adviser, Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant. I have here Grant's letter, written in August, 1863, in which he declares:

"'The people of the North need not quarrel over the institution of slavery. What Vice-President Stephens acknowledges as the corner-stone of the Confederacy is already knocked out. Slavery is already dead, and cannot be resurrected. It would take a standing army to maintain slavery in the South, if we were to take possession, and had guaranteed to the South all her constitutional privileges. I never was an abolitionist; not even what would be called anti-slavery; but I try to judge fairly and honestly, and it became patent to my mind very early in the rebellion, that the North and South could never live at peace with each other, except as one nation, and that without slavery. As anxious as I am to see peace established, I would not, therefore, be willing to see any settlement until this question is forever settled.'

"Whether right or wrong, that is the deliberate opinion of the General who is now commander-in-chief of your armies in the field, that the Union cannot be maintained in peace, unless slavery be destroyed.

"NO CAUSE YET FOR DESPAIR.

"You may think, sometimes, that the prospect is gloomy; but our fathers of the revolutionary war had seven years of war more gloomy than any we have yet had in this war. They were fighting against the most powerful nation on earth; yet, in spite of disaster and gloom, they pressed on till the God of battles gave them victory. You may feel dispirited, but as for me, God helping me, I never will consent to the destruction or

disintegration of this Union. If we cannot live in peace as one nation, we cannot as two; and, whenever you acknowledge this Confederacy, you acknowledge the right of secession, and there will be no end to division. It will be like picking the stones from under this building, which would cause it to fall into a shapeless mass of ruins. First might come Michigan and say, 'you have acknowledged the right of the rebel States to secede, and you have let them go, yielding the point that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and agreeing that State rights shall take the place of national authority, in violation of the doctrines of Jackson, Webster, and Clay.' And Michigan might stand out by herself, repudiating your Constitution, Government, debt and all. Whenever you recognize one rebellion, and submit to the dismemberment of a part of the States, the door is open wide, and all others may follow. New York might say, 'we can prosper better alone than in partnership with the rest of the States.' Having the port of entry for all nations, the tariff duties that would fall into her hands would make her wealth unbounded. So one after another would go; and when you have thus made your Union a rope of sand, I ask where is your Government? Where the pensions for your soldiers who have come home maimed and crippled in the nation's defence; where the annual stipend for the widows of those who have given their husbands that their country might live? I ask, where is your flag and your nationality? You will be lower in the scale of nations than poor, despised Mexico, consigned to endless anarchy. With long lines of border to defend against each other's encroachments, border warfare will be interminable, and instead of having peace as a result

of recognition, you will have war all the time. And, as in Mexico, the prophecy of the old world may be realized, and some strong man perhaps come up from that era of anarchy, and plant a despotism on the soil of once free America, destroying your liberties forever.

"On the contrary, your path of safety is to press on, yielding no jot of heart or hope, resolved that you will conquer at last. With that resolution there will be no such thing as failure.

"THE PEACE THAT MEANS WAR.

"While these men are crying peace on your street-corners and at your mass meetings, it is ascertained unquestionably that they are in secret organizing for war—war, not on rebels, but war on your Government, war on the nation, war upon the defenders of the Union especially. I know many of you have blamed Mr. Lincoln because he did not arrest Vallandigham on his return from his exile. You thought it was timorous on his part; and it is the fashion in this country first to find fault with our rulers, and then learn the facts. In this case the facts were that when Vallandigham returned to the United States, it was, naturally enough, to attend a Democratic convention. You thought Lincoln should have arrested him at once; but he knew the fact at that time, that there was a secret organization in the Northwest, the details of which he was not familiar with, whose intention it was to make the arrest of Vallandigham the pretext of inaugurating civil war in the North. Anxious to preserve peace around your homes, he took no public notice of the return of that individual, in order to take from that secret organization the pretext they had sought, and thus derange their plans.

"Since that time General Carrington and Governor Morton have obtained the whole ritual of that organization. Here it is, in the Indiana *Sentinel*, not black Republican authority, bear in mind. Having found they could no longer keep it a secret, after its publication elsewhere, they publish the document, saying it is only a Democratic organization. What the Democracy of Indiana propose to do, and how, will be seen from the following section of their constitution:

"'SECTION 8. The Supreme Commander shall take an oath to observe and maintain the principles of the order before entering upon the duties of this office, said oath to be prescribed by law. He shall be the presiding officer of the Supreme Council, and charged with the execution of all laws enacted by it. He shall be commander-in-chief of all military forces belonging to the order in the various States, when called into active service,' etc.

"And at the meeting of the Grand Council in February, 1864, the Grand Commander, H. H. Dodd, of Indiana, says:

"'Our political affinity is unquestionably with the Democratic party; and if that organization goes boldly to the work, standing firmly on its time-honored principles, maintaining unsullied its integrity, it is safe to presume that it will receive the moral and physical support of this wide-extended association.'

"It is, as you see, confessedly a military organization—an army of men, of whom one is to be commander-in-chief; and it is contemplated that they shall be called into active service. What for? To reinforce the armies of the Union? No; they have nothing of that kind in

their hearts. What for, except to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the Union, by letting loose the dogs of war, rapine and bloodshed upon the Union men of the North? And I tell you to-day that had it not been for the organization of Union Leagues, for counsel and concert in action, they would long ago have risen against us. But when they found they were confronted by your united strength, they quailed before it, and the organization of the Knights of the Golden Circle was abandoned, and the 'Sons of Liberty,' of Treason, rather, has been organized in its stead.

"They say, 'Our political affinity is undoubtedly with the Democratic party,' which will receive the 'physical support of this wide-extended association.' How the 'physical support?' Unquestionably through their 'Major-Generals,' 'Brigadier-Generals,' 'Colonels,' etc., 'when called into active service.' And all the while this organization has been perfecting and planning operations, its members have been crying, 'Peace, peace.' They have been carrying white banners in their conventions out of doors; but indoors they have been organizing under the red flag, to make war upon you and your Government; and now, after the mask has been torn from them, they justify themselves under the pretext that the elections are to be interfered with, which interference they intend to resist as antagonistic to their liberties. This pretence has been very properly and explicitly exposed and denounced by Governor Morton.

"What was it that enabled the South to precipitate this rebellion? It was the organization of the Knights of the Golden Circle. And remember that of this organization of the Sons of Liberty, Vallandigham is the Supreme Commander at the North, and Sterling Price,

a commanding General of rebels, in the South; and the members of the order are as much the sworn soldiers of Jefferson Davis as those in uniform and following the flag of the traitorous Confederacy. (Cheers.) I suppose you have them here, and I intend to denounce them as worse than the Jacobins of France, who plunged their country into the red sea of revolution. Do you doubt their intentions? Read the following extract from a letter written to the Adjutant-General of the State, in reference to the Deputy Supreme Commander of the order:

"'Horace Heffren, of this county, who is charged with being second in command in Indiana, acknowledged, in a speech in Palmyra, Harrison county, on the occasion of the joint Democratic convention of the counties, that it was even so as reported of him in these expositions, and further said, that those who were in opposition to the Democratic party were standing upon the verge of a volcano, which would burst forth in a short time, and blow all men to hell who stood on the abolition side of the struggle.' This speech was made Saturday, July 30th.

"'May, a defunct politician of this place, who has represented this county in former times, both in the Senate and House, is now going over the country talking in this manner, and seemingly endeavoring to educate the public mind to look upon this contemplative treason in the light of a grand scheme for the sudden termination of this war and the establishment of peace. He tells the people that when the strike is made all the State capitals will be taken, and the arsenals and arms placed in the hands of the order, who will then be in full power to confer with the South; and that peace will be the result. Such is the boldness of their leader in this county at this time.'

"These are the men who are talking to you about

peace. And I ask any man, who loves order and hates political convulsions, when he sees his country thus struggling against foes in the South and foes at home, seeking its death, is it not time to stop organizing under any other banner than the stars and stripes, and keep step to no other music than the music of the Union?

"THE SCARECROW OF THE NATIONAL DEBT.

"Opposition to the war is also based on the condition of the national finances. During the last session of Congress the opposition insisted that the soldiers ought to be paid in gold. They were the champions for the increased pay of the soldiers. We increased it to sixteen dollars per month, but they wanted to make it twenty dollars, and to pay it in gold. One would have supposed them the greatest friends of the soldier. But when we come to pass the tax-bill, every one of them voted against it. How were the soldiers to be paid in gold or any thing else, without the passage of a tax-bill? While pretending to be the soldiers' friends, they at heart were seeking to destroy the credit of the nation. They endeavored to make it appear that the bonds of the Government were worthless; and to the same extent that they could establish such a state of things would they prove that the property and every thing else you have is worthless, for the credit of the Government is based on these.

"To get at the truth of this matter let us inquire how much the national debt amounts to? It is seven per cent. on all the wealth of the country; and, by your last statistics *you are increasing in wealth every year, even during the war, more by hundreds of millions than your debt is increasing.* They say your expenditures are three

or four millions a day. They seek every opportunity to exaggerate your debt and your reverses, and to be-little your victories. We have been in war three and a half years, they say, and the entire debt is one billion eight hundred millions of dollars, of which one hundred millions was bequeathed by Buchanan, as a legacy to remember him by—though I think we have enough else beside that. Your debt has increased less than five hundred millions a year, one and a half millions a day. Mr. Fessenden states that since the new tax-bill has come into operation, the receipts have been nearly a million a day, and the tariff gives over one hundred millions a year in gold. If the war were to continue fifteen months longer, the debt would amount to two billions five hundred millions at the present rate of increase. Five hundred millions of it would be in greenbacks, on which there is no interest; and two billions of it would draw an average interest of six per cent. or less. I want to show you that our financial credit is based upon a rock, which even the rebellion may dash its storms against in vain. Your interest would be one hundred and twenty millions, if the war should continue fifteen months longer, which it cannot, and your annual civil expenses would be one hundred and thirty millions, making a total of two hundred and fifty millions a year. The internal tax-bill raises one million a day, while you are getting no tax on whiskey; and when it comes under the provisions of the bill the amount will be increased, unless you stop drinking whiskey, which few will do. Putting the receipts from the internal tax-bill at three hundred millions, and from the tariff at one hundred millions, you will have four hundred millions a year, with an expenditure of only two hun-

dred and fifty millions, which will give a surplus for the reduction of taxes or the sinking of the debt of one hundred and fifty millions a year.

"At the end of your last war, the national debt was just seven per cent. on the wealth of the nation, just what it is now; and in twenty years, without any internal tax, that debt was paid off, and Jackson left the Presidential chair with the country free from debt. You are not in half as bad a condition as our fathers were in the revolution. With a population of less than three millions, and one-third of them disloyal, they put three hundred and ninety-five thousand soldiers in the field. If you were to put the same proportion in the field now, you would have four millions of men in your army.

"Look at Great Britain in her war with France. Her debt was forty-one per cent. of all her property; and with twenty-nine millions of a population, you would suppose they would have been crushed out. Yet they went on increasing in wealth, till their debt is now diminished by the increase of their wealth to twelve or fifteen per cent. And during that long time, though they had an opposition party that wanted peace, and Napoleon was in the acme of his power, Great Britain fought it out, and maintained her history and nationality.

"THE UNION AS IT WAS.

"But they say, we are for the Union as it was. I, too, am for the Union as it was, and the reason I denounced that speech of Alexander Long's, and the reason I oppose the recognition of the Confederacy, is because I will not consent that a single star shall be plucked from the azure blue of our national heavens. They are

all to be there, and every star to represent a State. If you want any of those stars plucked out, and your flag trampled under foot, you should select some other man for your Representative, for I never—no, never—shall consent to it. (Great applause.) But if these men mean by 'the Union as it was,' the hanging of men in Texas for daring to vote for the President of their choice, then I am not in favor of the Union as it was. If they mean the right to mob and murder men from the North, because they believe in the Declaration of Independence, then I am not in favor of the Union as it was. If they mean by it the right to commit all manner of outrages on peaceable and law-abiding citizens from the North, because they happen to hold different views from theirs, then I am not in favor of the Union as it was. But a Union as it was before the outbreak of this rebellion, with every star on our flag representing a State, and with the right of free speech in fact, not that miserable pretense, lawless speech in favor of treason—but the right to declare yourself in favor of the God-given principles of liberty throughout the whole land, and to vote for whom you please, I am in favor of, to the last beat of my heart. (Great applause.)

"They say they are in favor of the Constitution as it is. Who are to blame that they have not the Constitution as it is? Nobody proposed to amend it but themselves; and they lifted the red hand of blood against it. They alone are to blame, and they can have it again by laying down their arms and returning to their allegiance to it.

"THE PATH OF DUTY PLAIN.

"We have but one path of duty, in which to walk.

It is to press on until every Malakoff in the South shall fall, and every suffering Lucknow shall hear the slogan of deliverance. If you are willing to yield, you are not worthy of those who have gone forth from homes happy with the sunlight of love, from wives and children precious to them as the apple of their eye, to lay down their lives for you. If you are willing that the graves of the loved and lost shall, until the hour of resurrection, be under a rebellious flag and on hostile soil, where no friend can shed a tear of sympathy, unless by permission of Jefferson Davis, you are not worthy of the revolutionary fathers that bequeathed to us the most priceless liberty that was ever bequeathed from sire to son. No, I know you will not do it. Whether travelling in the valley of humiliation and disaster, or keeping my eye fixed on the heavens, I believe God reigns. I cannot believe his blessings will fall upon the Confederacy. God's ways are sometimes dark, but 'sooner or later they touch the shining hills of day.'

"So it will be with us if we are faithful in this great endeavor. Above all, while your soldiers are in the front, there should be no word of discouragement among you. You hear from them no appeal to be allowed to lay down their arms and return home. On the contrary, but one voice comes from the army, and that is: 'Stand fast, ye men of little faith!' I echo that appeal to you to-day. They are in the Thermopylæ of danger. While their cheeks blanch not, and their hearts quail not before the foe, let your hearts and souls be strengthened by their heroism. Look how wonderfully God seems to have blessed this country. Fifty-five centuries this new world slumbered here in its primeval forests, the old world unconscious of its existence. At

last, Columbus, guided by an unseen hand, landed on our shores. One hundred and thirty years more passed away, when the little Mayflower, weak and frail, came across the broad Atlantic in the cold, bleak winter, and landed on the New England shore to plant the institutions we are now enjoying. One hundred and thirty years more passed away, and our fathers struck for independence. They were a narrow fringe of population on the Atlantic sea-board. Throwing down the gauntlet of defiance to the most powerful nation the world ever saw, they were bankrupt in all but faith, hope, and courage in a noble cause. If you will read the history of the revolution, you will find that it was all the way through beset with disaster. Scarcely three months in the year did the sun of victory shine upon their banners; but they went on fearlessly, appealing to the God of battles, till at last, by their perseverance and heroism they won. The history of every nation shows that there has been an hour when the turning-point seemed nigh—when, by pressing on, they could win the good they sought, or by turning back, they wrote the history of their decline and fall. So it is to be with our country; if we stand fast we shall be victorious. The God of battles will give victory to our arms. Already this great nation has had three generations of unequalled progress, while it has grown from three to thirty millions. Its gates have been open to the people of all lands. We have advanced with remarkable success and power. Our domain is shaped by the geography of the continent, bolted and riveted by mountain and river, valley and plain. It is to be one country, if we are faithful to our fathers' trust; with one Constitution, if we are faithful to the sainted dead; one destiny, if we are faithful to

our gallant soldiers, now manfully beating back the enemy. I appeal to you so to act, and so to vote, that your conduct shall thrill the hearts of your soldiers, and give them fresh resolution to press on in the path they now so nobly tread; fresh heroism in their conflicts with the enemy. Show them that you are guarding their sacred cause, and that as for you and your children, you are determined that there shall be but one nation, one flag, and one Constitution; and then the historic page of the future will shine with a brighter glory as it records the history of this war, standing side by side with that great struggle out of which the nation was born."

CHAPTER XXII.

IMPORTANT MILITARY EVENTS OF 1864—POLITICAL EVENTS—UNION VICTORIES AT THE POLLS—MR. COLFAX RE-ELECTED—HIS ABOUNDING LABORS—BANQUET TO HIM AT PHILADELPHIA.

THE year 1864 was marked by many notable events in the war with the rebellion. General Grant had come from the West to take charge of the armies in the East. This year witnessed the terrible battles of the Wilderness and the establishment of the Union forces south of the James. Sheridan, in this year, won his famous victories in the Shenandoah. General Sherman, passing from the north to the centre of the great State of Georgia, forcing his difficult path "through mountain defiles and across great rivers, overcoming or turning formidably

entrenched positions defended by a veteran army, commanded by a cautious and skilful commander," after several months of fighting, took Atlanta. From Atlanta he made his wondrous march to the sea, and gave Savannah, as his Christmas gift, to the country. But in the political contests and triumphs of the year, events, no less important to the welfare of the country and the final overthrow of the rebellion, occurred. In 1862, Indiana had been carried by the Democracy. In 1864, it wheeled again into line with its great masses for union and for liberty. Union victories in the October elections of the great States of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, were precursors of the national triumph of the Union party in the November election for President. The administration was sustained, its strength in Congress largely increased, and President Lincoln re-elected. Victory after victory at the polls for the loyal lovers of the land, echoed back to the military successes of the army and navy the doom of the Confederacy.

The re-election of Mr. Colfax had not at any time been doubtful, although nothing was left undone by his opponents to secure if possible his defeat. His canvass, which was opened auspiciously, was carried through triumphantly, and he was returned to Congress with an increased majority. But not to his own district, nor to his own State were his labors confined. Seemingly capable of more labor than any other man, through his unrivalled physical endurance, always fresh and vigorous, and in the full enjoyment of his mental powers, he addressed the people every secular day of the week upon the great questions before them, and was one of the great workers whose efforts contributed so largely

in a half dozen States out of his own, to secure the glorious national triumph that was achieved.

On his way to Washington, to attend the second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, Mr. Colfax received the honor of a public banquet in Philadelphia, from an account of which in the *North American*, of that city, we take the following:

BANQUET TO SPEAKER COLFAX.

"Hon. Schuyler Colfax, the popular Speaker of the late Congress, is now paying a brief visit to Philadelphia. He comes among many personal friends, and among a community in which his political character is universally appreciated, and where his public services are heartily acknowledged. Mr. Colfax is the guest of Mr. W. J. P. White, an old and esteemed friend. He spent yesterday in viewing the environs of the city, paying a visit to the great military hospital—a town in itself—at Chestnut Hill. He leaves for Washington to-day.

"Last evening a banquet was given to him, at the Assembly Buildings, by prominent citizens of Philadelphia. Mr. Colfax is still a young man, with a physique as fine as his mind, and with as little of the lordling in his demeanor and bearing as there is in the least-pretending citizen among us. The gentlemen present included Hon. William D. Kelley, Hon. J. P. Verree, ex-Governor Pollock, with several members of the Senate and Legislature, Messrs. L. A. Godey, William D. Lewis, Daniel Dougherty, the Presidents of City Councils, and many of the prominent merchants and professional men of this city. The company present numbered about one hundred and fifty gentlemen.

"After the cloth was drawn, Mr. McMichael arose, and said that he performed, as chairman of this occasion, a most agreeable duty. He regretted that the lateness of the hour prevented him from saying more concerning Mr. Colfax than he now had time to do. It must suffice for him to say, in the briefest manner, that we are met to-night to do honor to Mr. Colfax, not only for his public character, but for his private virtues—because he was Speaker of the last Congress, and because he comes from a State that has borne a noble part in the late Union victory. He proposed nine cheers for Mr. Colfax.

"Three times three were then given for Mr. Colfax, who now arose, with a modest bow.

"He thanked the assemblage for the greetings given to him in this city of Brotherly Love. He was so accustomed to replying to adverse criticisms that he could scarce find words to reply to such an honor as this. This reception is no ordinary mark of confidence and regard. He could ascribe it to no other motive than a desire to do honor to the noble State from which he came. (Applause.)

"There was a more welcome speech to his ears than even that just made by Mr. McMichael. It came from Philadelphia. In his inland home his people, gathering at the telegraph office, heard a speech from Philadelphia on election night. 'Philadelphia gives ten thousand majority for the Union.' We sent the response that same night from Indiana, that we have overwhelmed the enemy by twenty thousand majority. Philadelphia may claim pre-eminence over the whole North for her Union majority. Maryland, thank God, has taken her place among the free States. The blood of the Massa-

chusetts martyrs has been the seed of the church of liberty. (Loud cheers.)

"We won the victory in Indiana with but one watch-word: 'Stand by the Government in its hour of trial.' It is our duty, we who are at home, to stand by the Government. In the recent campaign our opponents had sufficient arms to crush out any opposition in other times. We had but one motto—devotion to our land. They held up high taxes, the draft, and every thing to influence the unthinking mind. We had but one weapon—our country! It is well for us to consider what has been decided by this great manifestation of the popular will. Abraham Lincoln is to remain in the Presidential chair until every rebel bows in allegiance to the Union. (Cheers.) It decides that the war is not a failure, and that it shall be carried on until our flag floats over the whole country. (Applause.) It also decides that no sword of rebellion shall ever again disrupt this country. It has decided that the doctrine of secession can never be maintained, nor an alien flag ever be allowed to float upon the soil that belongs to the United States of America.

"It was decided that, as slavery had waded in blood to overthrow this Union, it should be utterly extirpated, both as a penalty for its crime and for our future security. When traitors lit the torch of war in South Carolina, they at the same time lit the funeral pyre of their own slave-breeding institution in America. (Cheers.) If we cannot live upon the American soil as one nation, we cannot live as two nations. There should not be one man left to resist constitutional law, and the war should be prosecuted until the last rebel has grounded his arms. (Applause.)

"We are much given in these days to talking about terms of peace. History never recorded more liberal terms than those offered by this Government to the traitors in arms against it. We offer them peace if they voluntarily submit to the same laws that we cheerfully and willingly obey. We demand that they shall place out of their reach the causes that have brought on this rebellion. What could be more reasonable? It is said that we are striking against slavery. But it was slavery that struck at our liberties, and the verdict of the people is, that it must die. (Deafening cheers.) It is the deadly enemy of the Union. We shall declare in Congress, week after next, that hereafter slavery shall be impossible in the American Republic. (Deafening shouts.) Within eleven votes it was passed at the last session. Forty-one votes given by gentlemen from those districts who have been repudiated by their constituents at the last election, will cause the passage of the bill week after next by a two-thirds vote of the incoming Congress.

"The pathway toward peace will then be easy. Congress will keep faith with the sainted dead of the Revolution, and with the soldiers of the front. Grant will go on with his splendid work, and Sherman, the conqueror, who has humbled the Gibraltar of the rebellion; as he shall progress, we will stand by him and the heroes who follow his victorious banner. And so with Phil. Sheridan (applause); we will stand by him as by General Thomas—no doubting Thomas—upon whose banners are written victory and triumph for our armies. And so upon the ocean, we will stand by the brave tars upon every frigate and every iron-clad; and then when victory comes, as it will come, when no more secession is possible, and the whole world sees this country without a

rebel or a slave within its wide domain, there shall be written all over it the motto—worthy of itself, worthy of its fathers—'Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.'"

Mr. Colfax sat down amid a spontaneous burst of cheering and applause.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FIRST ENTRANCE UPON SLAVE SOIL—THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ABOLISHING SLAVERY—IMPORTANT EVENTS DURING THE SECOND SESSION OF THE THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—THE SPEAKER'S VALEDICTORY.

In September, 1849, Mr. Colfax, on his first visit to Washington, had written to the *Register:* "At New Castle, for the first time in my life, I stepped upon slave soil. But little of the horrors of slavery are to be seen in the States of Maryland and Delaware; but still the atmosphere does not seem as pure here as in those States blessed with all the privileges of freedom. I cannot forget that here, where I am now, the husband is liable at any hour to be torn away from his wife and sold into the Egyptian bondage of a Texas sugar plantation, and that the nurse of a master is subject to be traded off by him for cattle to work on his farm. True, such things are scarcely ever heard of here; but the power exists, subject only to a master's caprice."

The years of slavery propagandism, of Kansas troubles, of the war of the slavery rebellion, had followed. We have seen how instinctively Mr. Colfax turned to the oppressed, how tenaciously he adhered to his convictions of right, and how persistently and effectually he warred for his country and liberty. It must have been what the ancients denominated "a white day" to him, when, as Speaker of the House of Representatives, he announced the passage of the joint resolution of Congress, amending the Constitution and forever prohibiting slavery within the jurisdiction of the United States. This amendment to the Constitution had passed the Senate during the first session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, but had failed in the House. It then became one of the issues before the people in the Presidential election. The fact that the people had, by a decided majority, declared in its favor, gave Mr. Lincoln assurance that it would obtain in the second session of this Congress the requisite Constitutional majority of two-thirds. He, therefore, in his message to Congress, earnestly urged the reconsideration and adoption of the Constitutional amendment to secure the end of the war and the permanent welfare of the country. "At the close of the debate upon the amendment, when the vote was to be taken, the House of Representatives was filled. The diplomatic circle was crowded, the galleries were packed, and the floor and lobbies of the hall itself were filled with distinguished soldiers and civilians. As the Clerk called the roll, there was perfect silence; no sound made except that made by a hundred pencils quickly marking the ayes and noes, as the members responded. When the Speaker made the formal annunciation, 'The Constitutional majority of two-thirds having voted in

the affirmative, the joint resolution is passed,' it was received with an uncontrollable outburst of enthusiasm. The Republican members, regardless of the rules, instantly sprang to their feet and applauded with cheers; the example was followed by the spectators in the galleries, who waved their hats and the ladies their handkerchiefs, and cheers and congratulations continued for many minutes. Finally, Mr. Ingersoll, of Illinois, representing the district of Owen Lovejoy, in honor, as he said, of the sublime event, moved that the House adjourn. The motion was carried; but before the members left their seats, the roar of artillery announced to the people of Washington that the amendment had passed Congress."

During the second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, the armies of the Union had been marching on from victory to victory. Sherman had continued his glorious march from Savannah, northward. Columbia had fallen before him; Charleston, which for nearly four years had successfully resisted all attempts to take it, was abandoned by the rebels on account of the occupation of Columbia. The whole State of South Carolina was at the mercy of Sherman's army. Sherman was also on his victorious way to form a junction with General Schofield in North Carolina, who already occupied some of the most important points in that State. The rebel army of the West had been completely crushed by the victory of Thomas over Hood, near Nashville. Grant, with the Grand Army of the Potomac, was tightening his grasp around Petersburg and Richmond, holding Lee with all his force, and ready to take advantage of any diminution of troops in his front.

On the night of the third of March, 1865, as is usual

on the last night of the session, the President, with his Cabinet, was at his room in the Capitol, to receive the numerous acts which always pass Congress during the last hurried hours of the session. It was a stormy night, and while the President was thus waiting, exchanging congratulations with Senators and members, there came to the Secretary of War a telegram from General Grant, announcing that Lee had at last sought an interview with him, for the purpose of trying to arrange terms of peace.

These military successes, indicating the speedy and utter destruction of the Confederacy, together with the political successes which had been achieved, and the coming inauguration of President Lincoln for his second term of office, enable us to enter with our sympathies into the glow of feeling pervading the valedictory of the Speaker of the House, with which the Thirty-eighth Congress, with its wise and beneficent legislation, and forensic conflicts between liberty and slavery, passed into history:

THE SPEAKER'S VALEDICTORY.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: The parting hour has come; and, yonder clock, 'which takes no note of time but by its loss,' will soon announce that the Congress of which we are members, has passed into history. Honored by your votes with this responsible position, I have faithfully striven to perform its always complex and often perplexing duties, without partisan bias, and with the sincerest impartiality. Whether I have realized the true ideal of a presiding officer, aiding, on the one hand, the advance of the public busi-

ness, with the responsibility of which the majority is charged, and on the other hand allowing no trespass on the parliamentary rights of the minority, must be left for others to decide. But, looking back now over the entire Congress, I cannot remember a single word addressed to you which, 'dying, I could wish to blot.'

"On this day, which, by spontaneous consent, is being observed wherever our flag floats, as a day of national rejoicing, with the roar of cannon greeting the rising sun on the rock-bound coast of Maine, echoed and re-echoed by answering volleys from city to city, and from mountain-peak to mountain-peak, till, from the Golden Gate, they die away far out on the calm Pacific, we mingle our congratulations with those of the freemen we represent over the victories for the Union that have made the winter just closing so warm with joy and hope. With them, we rejoice that the national standard, which our revolutionary fathers unfurled over the land, but which rebellion sought to strike down and destroy, waves as undisputed, at this glad hour, over the cradle of secession at Charleston as over the cradle of liberty at Faneuil Hall; and that the whole firmament is aflame with the brilliant glow of triumphs for that cause so dear to every patriot heart. We have but recently commemorated the birthday of the Father of his Country, and renewed our pledge to each other that the nation he founded should not be sundered by the hand of treason; and the good news that assures the salvation of the Republic is doubly joyous, because it tells us that the prayers of the past four years have not been unanswered, and that the priceless blood of our brave defenders, so freely offered and so profusely spilt, has not been shed in vain.

"We turn, too, to-day, with a prouder joy than ever before, to that banner, brilliant with stars from the heavens, and radiant with glories from the earth, which, from Bunker Hill to Yorktown, from Lundy's Lane to New Orleans, and all through the darker hours of the rebellion in the past, to Savannah, and Fort Sumter, and Charleston, and Columbia, and Fort Fisher, and Wilmington, in the present, has ever symbolized our unity and our national life, as we see inscribed on it ineffaceably that now doubly-noble inscription, 'Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.'

"But in this hour of gladness I cannot forget the obligations, paramount and undying, we owe to our heroic defenders on every battle-field upon the land and every wave-rocked monitor and frigate upon the sea. Inspired by the sublimest spirit of self-sacrifice, they have realized a million-fold the historic fable of Curtius, as they have offered to close up with their own bodies, if need be, the yawning chasm that imperilled the Republic. For you and me, and for their country, they have turned their backs on the delights of home, and severed the tenderest of ties to brave death in a thousand forms; to confront with unblanched cheek the tempest of shot, and shell, and flame; to storm frowning batteries and bristling entrenchments; to bleed, to suffer and to die. As we look from this Capitol Hill over the nation, there are crushed and broken hearts in every hamlet; there are wounded soldiers, mangled with rebel bullets, in every hospital; there are patriot graves in every churchyard; there are bleaching bones on every battle-field. It is the lofty and unfaltering heroism of the honored living and the even more honored dead that has taken us from every valley of disaster and defeat, and placed our feet

on the sun-crowned heights of victory. The granite shaft may commemorate their deeds, our American Valhalla may be crowded with the statues of our heroes, but our debt of gratitude to them can never be paid while time shall last and the history of a nation shall endure.

"If my voice, from this Representative hall, could be heard throughout the land, I would adjure all who love the Republic to preserve this obligation ever fresh in grateful hearts. The dead, who have fallen in these struggles to prevent an alien flag from waving over the ashes of Washington, or over the graves where sleep the great and patriotic rivals of the last generation, the hero of New Orleans and the illustrious Commoner of Kentucky, cannot return to us. On Shiloh's plain and Carolina's sandy shore, before Richmond, and above the clouds at Lookout Mountain, the patriot martyrs of constitutional liberty sleep in their bloody shrouds till the morning of the resurrection. But the living are left behind, and if the Sacred Record appropriately commends the poor, who are ever with us, to our benefactions and regard, may I not remind you that the widow and the fatherless, the maimed and the wounded, the diseased and the suffering, whose anguish springs from this great contest, have claims on all of us, heightened immeasurably by the sacred cause for which they have given so much? Thus, and thus alone, by pouring the oil of consolation into the wounds that wicked treason has made, can we prove our devotion to our fatherland and our affectionate gratitude to its defenders. And, rejoicing over the bow of promise we already see arching the storm-cloud of war, giving assurance that no deluge of secession shall again overwhelm or endanger

our nation, we can join, with heart and soul, sincerely and trustingly, in the poet's prayer:

> "'Now, Father, lay Thy healing hand
> In mercy on our stricken land;
> Lead all its wanderers to the fold,
> And be their Shepherd, as of old.
>
> "'So shall our nation's song ascend
> To Thee, our Ruler, Father, Friend;
> While heaven's wide arch resounds again
> With peace on earth, good-will to men.'

"We go hence, with our official labors ended, to the Senate chamber and the portico of the Capitol, there, with the statue of the Goddess of Liberty looking down for the first time from her lofty pedestal on such a scene, to witness and participate in the inauguration of the Elect of the American people. And now, thanking you most truly for the approbation of my official conduct which you have recorded on your journal, I declare the House of Representatives of the Thirty-eighth Congress of the United States adjourned *sine die*."

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CONTEMPLATED OVERLAND JOURNEY—THE LAST GOOD-BYE OF MR. LINCOLN—THE PRESIDENT'S ASSASSINATION—MR. COLFAX'S EULOGY UPON THE MARTYRED PRESIDENT.

BEFORE the war of the rebellion, Mr. Colfax had planned an overland journey to California and Oregon.

He had expected to take this journey during the summer of 1861. The breaking out of the war caused its indefinite postponement. In the spring of 1865, when every thing gave promise of the speedy extinction of the Confederacy, this journey was again determined upon. Upon the 14th of April, Mr. Colfax was in Washington. He called early in the morning upon the President. Mr. Lincoln spent over an hour with him conversing in regard to the future, and explaining how he hoped to heal the wounds of the war, and build upon a sure foundation the great Republic. He also received from Mr. Lincoln a message for the miners of the far West. In the early evening, Mr. Colfax in company with Mr. George Ashmun of Massachusetts, who had presided over the Chicago Convention that nominated Mr. Lincoln for President, again called upon him. Amidst the rejoicings in Washington that day, on account of the successive national victories, it had been announced by the papers of the day, that General Grant, who had just returned to Washington from his final victory over Lee, and the President, would be at Ford's theatre that night. General Grant had an engagement, which prevented him from attending. The President was reluctant upon that occasion to attend, but was persuaded to go, that the people might not be disappointed. Mr. Colfax walked from the parlor to the door with the President, and at the door bade him "good-bye," declining his invitation to accompany him to the theatre, on account of his own engagements that evening. It was doubtless the last good-bye ever uttered by the President. It was the fatal night of his assassination.

No one, outside of the immediate family of the mar-

tyred President, felt more keenly or deeply than Mr. Colfax the demoniacal crime that robbed the country of its good President and wise and patriotic head. One of the finest eulogies of President Lincoln and most faithful portraitures of his character, came almost impromptu from the heart of Mr. Colfax. After his return from Washington, it was written during a single night for his friends and neighbors at South Bend. It was repeated by invitation of the Christian Commission at Bryan Hall, Chicago, Sabbath evening, April 30th, to an audience which crowded the hall an hour before the time of its delivery. It is a delineation of Mr. Lincoln's character, which will not be permitted to die, and is alike worthy of its exalted subject and its author:

EULOGY UPON THE LIFE AND PRINCIPLES OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"Over two centuries and a half have passed away since the ruler of any great nation of the world has fallen by the murderous attack of an assassin; and for the first time in our history there is blood on the Presidential chair of our Republic. Death is almost always saddening. The passing away of some dear friend from our earthly sight forever, fills the heart with sorrow. When it strikes down one who fills honorably a position of influence and power, as in the case of our two Presidents who died of disease in the White House, the sincerest grief is felt throughout the land. But when this affliction is aggravated by death coming through the hand of a murderer, it is *not* strange that the wave of woe sweeps gloomily over a nation, which sits down to mourn in sackcloth, its pulses of business stilled, feeling in every individual heart as if there was one dead at our

own hearth-stones. It seems, too, as if this wicked deed was intensified, in all its horror, by every attendant circumstance. The fatal shot was fired on the very day when the Nation's flag was again unfurled in triumph over that fort in Charleston harbor, which, in four years' time, had been the cradle and the grave of the rebellion. It was at a time when the death of the President could not be of the slightest avail to the treasonable conspiracy against the Republic, which its military leaders acknowledged at last was powerless and overthrown. And it was aimed, alas, with too sure a hand, at the life of that one man in the Government whose heart was tenderest towards the would-be assassins of the Nation's life.

"You may search history, ancient and modern, and when the task is ended, all will concede that Abraham Lincoln was the most merciful ruler who ever put down a powerful rebellion. He had so won the hearts of the people, and so entwined himself in their regard and affection, that he was the only man living who could have stood in the breach between the leaders of this iniquity and the wrath of the country they had plunged into bloody war. Feeling, as so many did, that his kindly heart almost forgot justice in its throbbings for mercy, yet, knowing his unfaltering devotion to his country, his inflexible adherence to principle, his unyielding determination for the restoration of our national unity, there was a trust in him, almost filial in its loving confidence, that whatever he should finally resolve on would prove in the end to be for the best. Had he been an unforgiving ruler; had his daily practice been to sit in his high place, and there administer with unrelenting severity the penalties of offended law; had he proclaimed his resolution to consign all the plotters against his coun-

try to the gallows they had earned, we might have understood why the rebel assassins conspired against his life. But no assassination in history—not even that of Henry IV., of France, for which Ravaillac was torn in pieces by horses, nor William of Orange—approximates in utter unpalliated infamy to this.

"In the midst of the national rejoicings over the assured triumph of the national cause, with illuminations and bonfires blazing in every town, and the merry peal of the festive bell in every village, our cities blossoming with flags, our hearts beating high with joy, the two great armies of Grant and Lee fraternizing together after their long warfare, and exulting together over the return of peace, we were brought, in a single moment, from the utmost heights of felicity to the deepest valleys of lamentation. No wonder that rebel Generals acknowledged that it sent down their cause, through all the coming centuries, to shameless dishonor. For, disguise it, as some may seek to do, behind the form of the assassin, as his finger pulled the fatal trigger, looms up the dark and fiendish spirit of the rebellion, which, baffled in its work of assassinating the nation's life, avenged itself on the life of him who represented the nation's contest and the nation's victory. As surely as the infamous offer of twenty-five thousand crowns by Philip of Spain to whomsoever would rid the world of the pious William of Orange, the purest and best-loved ruler of his times, who, by a striking coincidence, was called Father William, as we called our beloved President Father Abraham—as surely as this public offer, with its false denunciations of William's offences, inspirited the murderous Balthazar to shoot him through the body—so surely are the chiefs of this gigantic re-

bellion of our times responsible for the fatal bullet that carried death to our Chief Magistrate, and filled the land with unavailing sorrow.

"I can scarcely trust myself to attempt the portraiture of our martyred chief, whose death is mourned as never man's was mourned before; and who, in all the ages that may be left to America, while time shall last, will be enshrined in solemn memory with the Father of the Republic which he saved. How much I loved him personally, I cannot express to you. Honored always by his confidence; treated ever by him with affectionate regard; sitting often with him familiarly at his table; his last visitor on that terrible night; receiving his last message, full of interest to the toiling miners of the distant West; walking by his side from his parlor to his door, as he took his last steps in that Executive Mansion he had honored; receiving the last grasp of that generous and loving hand, and his last, last good-bye; declining his last kind invitation to join him in those hours of relaxation which incessant care and anxiety seemed to render so desirable, my mind has since been tortured with regrets that I had not accompanied him. If the knife which the assassin had intended for Grant had not been wasted, as it possibly would not have been, on one of so much less importance in our national affairs, perchance a sudden backward look at that eventful instant might have saved that life, so incalculably precious to wife and children and country; or, failing in that, might have hindered or prevented the escape of his murderer. The willingness of any man to endanger his life for another's is so much doubted that I can scarcely dare to say how willingly I would have risked my own to preserve his, of such priceless value to us all. But if

you can realize that it is sweet to die for one's country, as so many scores of thousands, from every State and county and hamlet, have proved in the years that are past, you can imagine the consolation there would be to any one, even in his expiring hours, to feel that he had saved the land from the funereal gloom which, but a few days ago, settled down upon it from ocean to ocean, and from Capitol to cabin, at the loss of one for whom even a hecatomb of victims could not atone.

"Of this noble-hearted man, so full of genial impulses, so self-forgetful, so utterly unselfish, so pure, and gentle, and good, who lived for us, and at last died for us, I feel how inadequate I am to portray his manifold excellencies—his intellectual worth—his generous character—his fervent patriotism. Pope celebrated the memory of Robert Harley, the Earl of Oxford, a privy counsellor of Queen Anne, who himself narrowly escaped assassination, in lines that seem prophetic of Mr. Lincoln's virtues:

> "'A soul supreme, in each hard instance tried;
> *Above* all pain, all anger, and all pride,
> The rage of power, the blast of public breath,
> The lust of lucre, and the dread of death.'

"No one could ever convince the President that he was in danger of violent death. Judging others by himself, he could not realize that any one could seek his blood. Or he may have believed, as Napoleon wrote to Jerome, that no public man could effectually shield himself from the danger of assassination. Easier of access to the public at large than had been any of his predecessors; admitting his bitterest enemies to his reception-room alone; restive under the cavalry escort which Secretary

Stanton insisted should accompany him last summer in his daily journeys between the White House and his summer residence, at the Soldier's Home, several miles from Washington, at a time, too, as since ascertained in the details of this long-organized plot, discovered since his death, when it was intended to gag and handcuff him and to carry him to the rebel capital as a hostage for their recognition; sometimes escaping from their escort by anticipating their usual hour of attendance; walking about the grounds unattended; he could not be persuaded that he ran any risk whatever. Being at City Point after the evacuation of Richmond, he determined to go thither, not from idle curiosity, but to see if he could not do something to stop the effusion of blood and hasten the peace for which he longed. The ever-watchful Secretary of War hearing of it, implored him by telegraph not to go, and warned him that some lurking assassin might take his life. But, armed with his good intentions—alas, how feeble a shield they proved against the death-blow afterwards—he went, walked fearlessly and carelessly through the streets—met and conferred with a rebel leader who remained there; and when he returned to City Point telegraphed to his faithful friend and constitutional adviser, who till then had feared, as we all did at that time, for his life:

"'I received your despatch last night; went to Richmond this morning, and have just returned.

"'ABRAHAM LINCOLN.'

"When I told him, on that last night, how uneasy all had been at his going, he replied, pleasantly and with a smile, (I quote his exact words:)

"'Why, if any one else had been President, and had gone to Richmond, I would have been alarmed too; but I was not scared about myself a bit.'

"If any of you have ever been in Washington, you will remember the footpath, lined and embowered with trees, leading from the back door of the War Department to the White House. One night, and but recently, too, when, in his anxiety for news from the army, he had been with the Secretary in the telegraph office of the department, he was about starting home at a late hour by this short route. Mr. Stanton stopped him and said, 'You ought not to go that way; it is dangerous for you even in the day-time, but worse at night.' Mr. Lincoln replied, 'I don't believe there's any danger there, day or night.' Mr. Stanton responded solemnly, 'Well, Mr. President, you shall not be killed returning that dark way from my department while I am in it; you must let me take you round by the avenue in my carriage.' And Mr. Lincoln, joking the Secretary on his imperious military orders, and his needless alarm on his account, as he called it, entered his carriage, and was driven by the well-lighted avenue to the White House.

"And thus he walked through unseen dangers, without 'the dread of death;' his warm heart so full of good-will, even to his enemies, that he could not imagine there was any one base enough to slay him; and the death-dealing bullet was sped to its mark in a theatre, where, but little over an hour before, he had been welcomed as he entered, by a crowded audience rising, and with cheers and waving of handkerchiefs, honoring him with an ovation of which any one might well be proud.

Some regret that he was there at all. But, to all human appearance, he was safer there, by far, than in his own reception-room, where unknown visitors so often entered alone. He found there a temporary respite occasionally from the crowds who thronged his ante-rooms—relaxation from the cares and perplexities which so constantly oppressed him, keeping his mind under the severest tension, like the bent bow, till it almost lost its spring—and, on this fatal night, to be so black a one hereafter in our calendar, going with reluctance, and, as he expressed it to Mr. Ashmun and myself, only because General Grant, who had been advertised with himself, to be present, had been compelled to leave the city, and he did not wish to disappoint those who would expect to see him there.

"To those who have expressed their regrets that the murderer found him in a theatre, let me further add, that, by the etiquette of Washington, the President is prohibited from making or returning calls, except in the case of the dangerous illness of some intimate friend. If he made one social visit, the thousands whom he could not call on, and especially distinguished strangers from abroad, would feel the discrimination. And hence, a President, not able to enjoy a social evening at some friend's residence, as all of us can, must remain within the four walls of the White House, or seek relaxation from the engrossing cares which always confront him there from sunrise till midnight, at some public place of amusement. I remember, that, when we heard of those bloody battles of the Wilderness which any one less persistent than General Grant would have regarded as reverses that justified retreat, Mr. Lincoln went to the opera, saying:

"'People may think strange of it, but I *must* have some relief from this terrible anxiety, or it will kill me.'

"Of the many thousands of persons I have met in public or private life, I cannot call to mind a single one who exceeded him in calmness of temper, in kindness of disposition, and in overflowing generosity of impulse. I doubt if his most intimate associate ever heard him utter bitter or vindictive language. He seemed wholly free from malignity or revenge; from ill-will or injustice. Attacked ever so sharply, you all remember that he never answered railing with railing. Criticized ever so unjustly, he would reply with no word of reproof, but patiently and uncomplainingly, if he answered at all, strive to prove that he stood on the rock of right. When from the halls of Congress or elsewhere, his most earnest opponents visited the White House with business, they would be met as frankly, listened to as intently, and treated as justly as his most earnest friends. It could be said of him as Pyrrhus said of Fabricius when the latter, though in hostile array, exposed to his enemy the treachery of his physician, who proffered to poison him: 'It is easier to turn the sun from his course than Fabricius from his honesty.' Men of all parties will remember, when the exciting contest of last fall ended in his triumphant re-election, his first word thereafter, from the portico of the White House, was, that he could not, and would not, exult over his countrymen who had differed from his policy.

"And thus he ruled, and thus he lived, and thus he died. The wretch who stood behind him and sent his bullet crashing through that brain, which had been devising plans of reconciliation with the country's deadly

foes, as he leaped upon the stage and exulted over the death of him whom he denounced as a tyrant, uttered as foul a falsehood as the lying witnesses who caused the conviction and the crucifixion of the Son of Man, on the same Good Friday, nearly two thousand years ago. I would not compare the human with the Divine, except in that immeasurable contrast of the finite with the Infinite. But his whole life proves to me that if he could have had a single moment of consciousness and of speech, his great heart would have prompted him to pray for those who had plotted for his blood, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.'

"He bore the nation's perils and trials and sorrows ever on his mind. You knew him, in a large degree, by the illustrative stories, of which his memory and his tongue were so prolific, using them to point a moral, or to soften discontent at his decisions; but this was the mere badinage which relieved him for the moment from the heavy weight of public duties and responsibilities under which he often wearied. Those whom he admitted to his confidence, and with whom he conversed of his feelings, knew that his inner life was chequered with the deepest anxiety and most discomforting solicitude. Elated by victories for the cause which was ever in his thoughts, reverses to our arms cast a pall of depression over him. One morning, over two years ago, calling upon him on business, I found him looking more than usually pale and care-worn, and inquired the reason. He replied, with the bad news he had received at a late hour the previous night, which had not yet been communicated to the press, adding that he had not closed his eyes or breakfasted; and, with an expression I shall never forget, he exclaimed:

"'How willingly would I exchange places to-day with the soldier who sleeps on the ground in the Army of the Potomac.'

"He was as free from deceit as guile. He had one peculiarity, which often misled those with whom he conversed. When his judgment, which acted slowly, but which was almost as immovable as the eternal hills when settled, was grasping some subject of importance, the arguments against his own desire seemed uppermost in his mind; and in conversing upon it, he would present these arguments to see if they could be rebutted. He thus often surprised both friend and foe in his final decisions. Always willing to listen to all sides till the last possible moment, yet when he put down his foot, he never took a backward step. Once speaking of an eminent statesman, he said:

"'When a question confronts him, he always and naturally argues it from the stand-point of which is the better policy; but with me,' he added, 'my only desire is to see what is right.'

"And this is the key to his life. His parents left Kentucky for Indiana, in his childhood, on account of slavery in the former State; and he thus inherited a dislike for that institution. As he said recently to Governor Bramlette, of his native State, 'If slavery be not wrong, nothing is wrong.' Moving to Illinois, he found the prejudice there against anti-slavery men, when he entered on public and professional life, more intense than in any other free State in the Union. But he never dissembled, never concealed his opinions. Entering, in 1858, on that great contest with his political rival, but

personal friend, Judge Douglas, which attracted the attention of the whole Union, he startled many of his friends by the declaration of his conviction that the Union could not permanently endure half-slave and half-free; that ultimately it would be either the one or the other, or be a divided house that could not stand; that he did not expect the Union to be dissolved, or the house to fall, but that it would cease to be divided; and that the hope of the Republic was in staying the spread of slavery, that the public mind might rest in the hope of its ultimate extinction. And though he coupled this with declarations against Congressional interference with it in existing States, it was not popular, and kept him in the whole canvass upon the defensive. But to every argument against it, his calm reply was, in substance, 'such is my clear conviction, and I cannot unsay it.'

"His frankness in expressing unpopular opinions was manifested, also, when in Southern Illinois, before an audience almost unanimously hostile to the sentiment, he declared, in the same close and doubtful contest, that, when the Declaration of Independence proclaimed that all men were created equal, it did not mean white men alone, but negroes as well; and that their rights to life, liberty, and happiness were as inalienable as the noblest of the land. He claimed no power over State laws in other States which conflicted with these rights, or curtailed them; but with unfaltering devotion to his conscientious conviction, and regardless of its effects on his political prospects, he never wavered in his adherence to this truth.

"And yet, when elected President of the United States, he executed the Fugitive Slave Law, because his oath of office as the Executive, in his opinion, required it.

When urged to strike at slavery under the war power, he replied, in a widely-published letter:

"'My paramount object is to save the Union, and I would save it in the shortest way. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it. If I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and letting others alone, I would also do that. But I intend no modification of my oft-expressed wish that all men everywhere could be free.'

"And when at last the hour arrived when, in his honest opinion, the alternative between the death of slavery and the death of the Union confronted him; then, and not till then, he struck at the cause of all our woes with the battle-axe of the Union. Signing that immortal proclamation, which made him the Liberator of America, on the afternoon of January 1st, 1863, after hours of New Year's hand-shaking, he said to me and other friends, that night:

"'The signature looks a little tremulous, for my hand was tired, but my resolution was firm. I told them, in September, if they did not return to their allegiance, and cease murdering our soldiers, I would strike at this pillar of their strength. And now the promise shall be kept; and not one word of it will I ever recall.'

"And the promise was kept, and every word of it has stood. Thank God, when slavery and treason benumbed that hand in death, they could not destroy the noble instrument to which that hand had given a life that shall never die. A great writer said, that, when Wilberforce stood at the bar of God, he held in his hands the broken

shackles which on earth had bound hundreds of thousands of his fellow-men. But, when baffled treason hurried Abraham Lincoln into the presence of his Maker, he bore with him the manacles of four millions whom he had made free—fetters that no power on God's footstool is strong enough to place again on their enfranchised limbs.

"No man, in our era, clothed with such vast power, has ever used it so mercifully. No ruler, holding the keys of life and death, ever pardoned so many and so easily. When friends said to him they wished he had more of Jackson's sternness, he would say, 'I am just as God made me, and cannot change.' It may not be generally known that his doorkeepers had standing orders from him, that no matter how great might be the throng, if other Senators and Representatives had to wait, or be turned away without an audience, he must see, before the day closed, every member who came to him with a petition for the saving of life. One night, in February, I left all other business to ask him to respite the son of a constituent, who was sentenced to be shot at Davenport, for desertion. He heard the story with his usual patience, though he was wearied out with incessant calls, and anxious for rest, and then replied:

"'Some of our Generals complain that I impair discipline and subordination in the army, by my pardons and respites, but it makes me rested, after a day's hard work, if I can find some good excuse for saving a man's life; and I go to bed happy, as I think how joyous the signing of my name will make him and his family and his friends.'

"And with a happy smile, beaming over that care-furrowed face, he signed that name that saved that life.

"But Abraham Lincoln was not only a good, and a just, and a generous, and a humane man. I could not be just to that well-rounded character of his without adding that he was also a praying man. He has often said that his reliance, in the gloomiest hours, was on his God, to whom he appealed in prayer, although he never had become a professor of religion. To a clergyman who asked him if he loved his Saviour, he replied, and he was too truthful for us to doubt the declaration:

"'When I was first inaugurated, I did not love Him; when God took my son, I was greatly impressed, but still I did not love him; but when I stood upon the battle-field of Gettysburg, I gave my heart to Christ, and I can now say, I do love the Saviour.'

"Two of my fellow-members, Messrs. Wilson, of Iowa, and Casey, of Kentucky, called on him at one of those periods when reverses had dispirited the people. Conversing about the prospects of our country, one of them said: 'Well, Mr. President, I have faith that Providence is with us; and if the people are but true to the cause, all will be right.' Mr. Lincoln gravely replied, with deep solemnity in his tone:

"'I have a higher faith than yours. I have faith, not only that God is with our cause, but that he will control the hearts of the people so that they will be faithful to it too.

"The Bible was always in his reception-room. I have doubted the report that he read an hour in it every day, for he often came direct from his bed to his reception-room, so anxious was he to accommodate members who had important business, and it would sometimes be two

or three hours before he would playfully say to some friend whose turn had come, 'Won't you stay here till I get some breakfast?' But he must have read the Bible considerably, for he often quoted it. One day that I happened to come in, he said, 'Mr. —— has just been here attacking one of my Cabinet, but I stopped him with this text,' and he read from the Proverbs a text I had never heard quoted before, as follows: 'Accuse not a servant to his master.'

"You cannot fail to have noticed the solemn and sometimes almost mournful strain that pervades many of his addresses. When he left Springfield, in 1861, to assume the Presidency, his farewell words were as follows:

"'My Friends: No one in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century; here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. *I know not how soon I shall see you again.* A duty devolves upon me, which is, perhaps, greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him, and on the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support; and I hope that you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain. Again I bid you an affectionate farewell.'

"Before that murderous blow closed his eyes in death, that 'success' for which he had struggled was assured —that 'duty' devolved upon him had been performed. But the friends to whom, with 'the sadness he felt at

parting,' he bade this 'affectionate farewell,' can only look at the lifeless corpse, now slowly borne to their midst.

"When, in the same month, he raised the national flag over Independence Hall, at Philadelphia, he said to the assembled tens of thousands:

"'It was something in the Declaration of Independence giving Liberty, not only to the people of this country, but hope to the world for all coming time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that *all* should have an equal chance. * * * Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon that basis? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world, if I can help to save it. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, *I was about to say that I would rather be assassinated upon the spot than to surrender it!* I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by.'

"He seemed, as he thus spoke, to have the dark shadow of his violent death before him. But even in its presence he declared that he would rather be assassinated than to surrender a principle; and that while he was willing to live by it, yet, if it was God's pleasure, he was equally willing to die by it. He was assassinated, but his name and principles will live while history exists, and the Republic endures.

"So, too, in the conclusion of his first inaugural, he appealed in the language of entreaty and peace to those who had raised their mailed hands against the life of their fatherland:

"'You can have no conflict without being yourselves

the aggressors. You can have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it. The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot-grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature.'

"In all my literary reading, I have never found a more beautiful and touching sentence than the one I have quoted.

"In the funeral exercises in the East Room, on the 19th of April, the very anniversary of the day when the blood of murdered Massachusetts soldiers stained the stones of the city of Baltimore, Dr. Gurley quoted the President's solemn reply to a company of clergymen who called on him in one of the darkest hours of the war, when, standing where his lifeless remains then rested, he replied to them in tones of deep emotion:

"'Gentlemen, my hope of success in this great and terrible struggle rests on that immutable foundation, the justice and goodness of God. And when events are very threatening and prospects very dark, I still hope in some way, which man cannot see, all will be well in the end, because our cause is just and God is on our side.'

"You cannot have forgotten this impressive invocation with which he closed his Proclamation of Emancipation.

"'And, upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution and military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.'

"The solemn words of his last Inaugural sound in my ears to-day as I heard them fall from his lips only last month, on the steps of the Capitol. There was no exultation over his own success, though he was the first Northern President who had ever been re-elected. There was no bitterness against the men who had filled our land with new-made graves, and who were striving to stab the nation to its death. There was no confident and enthusiastic prediction of the country's triumph. But with almost the solemn utterances of one of the Hebrew prophets; as if he felt he was standing, as he was, on the verge of his open grave, and addressing his last official words to his countrymen, with his lips touched by the finger of Inspiration, he said:

"'The Almighty has his own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offences, for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences, which in the providence of God must needs come, but which having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always attribute to him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may soon pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"'With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right,

let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.'

"What a portraiture of his own character he unconsciously draws in this closing paragraph:

"'With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right.'

"*And yet they slew him.*

"As this extraordinary State-paper crossed the Atlantic to the Old World, it elicited the most profound interest. Mr. Gladstone, himself the most eloquent of English statesmen, spoke in the most elevated eulogy of it, saying that it showed a moral elevation which *commanded* the highest respect, adding, in emphatic language:

"'I am taken captive by so striking an utterance as this; for I see in it the effect of sharp trial, when rightly borne, to raise men to a higher level of thought and feeling than they could otherwise reach.'

"And the *British Standard* declared it—

"'The most remarkable thing of the sort ever pronounced by any President of the United States from its first day until now. Its Alpha and Omega is Almighty God, the God of Justice and the Father of Mercies, who is working out the purposes of his love. It is invested with a dignity and pathos which lift it high above every thing of the kind, whether in the Old World or the New.'

"Bear with me further, while I quote one letter, when, in the midst of the exciting canvass of last fall, in which

he was so deeply interested, during the very week he was being denounced in Chicago as scarcely any man had ever been denounced before, he shut out the thoughts of these cruelly-unjust aspersions, to write in this deeply-impressive strain to a Philadelphia lady, then resident in England:

"'EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"'WASHINGTON, *Sept. 6th*, 1864.

"'ELIZA B. GURNEY—*My Esteemed Friend:* I have never forgotten, probably never shall forget, the very impressive occasion, when yourself and friends visited me on a Sabbath forenoon, two years ago, nor has your kind letter, written nearly a year later, ever been forgotten.

"'In all it has been your purpose to strengthen my reliance on God. I am much indebted to the good, Christian people of the country for their constant prayers and consolations, and to no one of them more than yourself. The purposes of the Almighty are perfect, and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to perceive them in advance.

"'We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war long before this, but God knows best, and has ruled otherwise. We shall acknowledge his wisdom and our own errors therein. Meanwhile we must work earnestly in the best light he gives us, trusting that so working still conduces to the great end he ordains. Surely he intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could stay. Your people —the Friends—have had, and are having very great trials on principles and faith.'"

"I stop here, in the reading of this letter, to draw your attention to the next sentence, which illustrates Mr. Lincoln's power in stating facts. He seemed to have the ability of taking a great truth, a living principle, or

a striking argument, out of all the mists that might be gathered around it, and placing it before you so vividly in a single sentence, that the presentation of it by others would contrast with his, as a picture, flat before your eyes, compares with the figures in the same picture brought out so palpably and life-like under the binocular mystery of the stereoscope. Witness the striking condensation and unanswerable argument of this next sentence:

"'*Opposed to both war and oppression, they can only practically oppose oppression by war.* In this hard dilemma some have chosen one horn, and some the other. For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds, I have done, and shall do, the best I can in my own conscience and my oath to the law. That you believe this I doubt not, and, believing it, I shall still receive, for our country and myself, your earnest prayers to our Father in Heaven. "'*Your sincere friend,*

"'A. LINCOLN.'

"Nor should I forget to mention here that the last act of Congress ever signed by him was one requiring that the motto, in which he sincerely believed, 'In God we trust,' should hereafter be inscribed upon all our national coin.

"But April came at last, with all its glorious resurrection of spring—that spring which he was not to see ripening into summer. The last sands in the hour-glass of his life were falling. His last moment drew nigh, for his banded assassins, foiled in an attempt to poison him last year, (a plot only discovered since detectives have been tracking the mysteries of his death,) had resolved, this time, on striking a surer blow. Victory

after victory crowned our national armies. A hundred captured rebel banners filled the War Department. Scores of thousands of rebel soldiers had surrendered; and all over the Republic the joyous acclaim of millions hailed the promised land of Peace. But our beloved leader was to enter another land of rest. Thank Heaven, though wicked men may kill the body, they cannot kill the immortal soul. And if the spirits of the good men who have left us are permitted to look back on the land they loved in life, it is not presumptuous to believe that Washington and Lincoln, from the shining courts above, look down to-day, with paternal interest, on the nation which, under Providence, the one had founded and the other saved, and which will entwine their names together in hallowed recollection forever.

"But, in his last hours, all those affectionate traits of character, which I have so inadequately delineated, shone out in more than wonted brilliancy. How his kindly heart must have throbbed with joy, as, on the very day before his death, he gladdened so many tens of thousands of anxious minds by ordering the abandonment of the impending, but now not needed draft! With what generous magnanimity he authorized our heroic Lieutenant-General to proffer terms unparalleled in their liberality, to the Army of Virginia, so long the bulwark of the rebellion. And the last official act of his life was, when learning by telegraph, that very Friday afternoon, that two of the leaders and concocters of the rebellion were expected to arrive, disguised, in a few hours, at one of our ports, to escape to Europe, he instructed our officers not to arrest them, but let them flee the country. He did not wish their blood, but their associates thirsted for his, and a few short hours after

this message of mercy to save their friends from death sped on the wings of lightning, with wicked hands they slew him. No last words of affection to weeping wife and children did they allow him. No moment's space for prayer to God. But, in order that consciousness might end with the instant, the pistol was held close to the skull, that the bullet might be buried in his brain.

"And thus, though the President is slain, the nation lives. The statesman, who has so successfully conducted our foreign correspondence, as to save us from threatened and endangering complications and difficulties abroad, and who, with the President, leaned ever to mercy's side, so brutally bowie-knifed as he lay helpless on his bed of anguish, is happily to be spared; and the conspiracy which intended a bloody harvest of six patriots' lives, reaped, with its murderous sickle, but one.

"But that one—how dear to all our hearts—how priceless in its worth, how transparent and spotless its purity of character! In the fiery trial to which the nation has been subjected, we have given of the bravest and the best of the land. The South is filled with the graves where sleep the patriot martyrs of constitutional liberty till the resurrection morn. The vacant chair at the table of thousands upon thousands tells of those, who, inspired by the sublimest spirit of self-sacrifice, have died that the Republic might survive. Golden and living treasures have been heaped up upon our country's altar. But, after all these costly sacrifices had been offered, and the end seemed almost at hand, a costlier sacrifice had to be made; and from the highest place in all the land the victim came. Slaughtered at the

moment of victory, the blow was too late to rob him of the grand place he has won for himself in history:

> "'We know him *now*. All narrow jealousies
> Are silent. And we see him as he moved,
> How modest, kindly, all compassionate, wise,
> With what sublime repression of himself,
> And in what limits and how tenderly.
> Whose glory was redressing human wrongs,
> Not making his high place the lawless perch
> Of winged ambition, nor a vantage ground
> Of pleasure. But, through all this tract of years,
> Wearing the white flower of a blameless life.'

"Murdered, coffined, buried, he will live with those few immortal names which were not born to die; *live*, as the Father of the Faithful in the times that tried men's souls; *live* in the grateful hearts of the dark-browed race he lifted from under the heel of the oppressor to the dignity of freedom and of manhood; *live* in every bereaved circle which has given father, husband, son or friend to die, as he did, for his country; *live*, with the glorious company of martyrs to liberty, justice and humanity, that trio of heaven-born principles; *live* in the love of all beneath the circuit of the sun, who loathe tyranny, slavery, and wrong. And, leaving behind him a record that shows how honesty and principle lifted him, self-made as he was, from the humblest ranks of the people to the noblest station on the globe, and a name that shall brighten under the eye of posterity as the ages roll by,

> "'From the top of fame's ladder he stepped to the sky.'"

CHAPTER XXV.

MR. LINCOLN'S MESSAGE BY MR. COLFAX TO THE MINERS OF THE WEST—THE OVERLAND JOURNEY—VISIT AT SALT LAKE CITY—PLAIN TALKING WITH BRIGHAM YOUNG—SPEECH AT SALT LAKE CITY.

THE terribly sad event of President Lincoln's assassination caused Mr. Colfax to commit to writing the message with which he had been intrusted by Mr. Lincoln for the miners of the West. The following was the message:

"I have," said he, "very large ideas of the mineral wealth of our nation. I believe it practically inexhaustible. It abounds all over the Western country from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and its development has scarcely commenced. During the war, when we were adding a couple of millions of dollars every day to our national debt, I did not care about encouraging the increase in the volumes of our precious metals. We had the country to save first. But now that the rebellion is overthrown, and we know pretty nearly the amount of our national debt, the more gold and silver we mine, makes the payment of that debt so much the easier. Now," said he, speaking with much emphasis, "I am going to encourage that in every possible way. We shall have hundreds of thousands of disbanded soldiers, and many have feared that their return home in such great numbers might paralyze industry by furnishing suddenly a greater supply of labor than there will be demand for. I am going to try to attract them to the hidden wealth of our mountain ranges where there is room enough for all. Immigration, which even the war has not stopped, will land upon our shores hundreds of thousands more per year from over-crowded Europe. I

intend to point them to the gold and silver that waits for them in the West. Tell the miners, from me, that I shall promote their interests to the utmost of my ability, because their prosperity is the prosperity of the nation; and," said he, his eye kindling with enthusiasm, "we shall prove in a very few years that we are indeed the TREASURY OF THE WORLD."

Faithfully was the message repeated to the miners in the cities and mountains of Colorado, Nevada and California with lips that were eloquent of the martyred President, of the heroism of the army and navy, and of the future of the country. After four months of travel, having passed across the continent and through California, Oregon and Washington territory, and having also visited the Queen's dominions, where they come down to the Pacific upon the extreme northwest of our territory, Mr. Colfax returned home by way of Panama and New York. The invitation to make this journey to the far West had been made as a public recognition of his services in securing the Overland Mail and Telegraph. Many personal friends in the territories of the Rocky Mountains and the States of the Pacific hailed it with delight. President Lincoln's interest in it pointed public attention to it. The companions of Mr. Colfax were Mr. Bowles, of the *Springfield Republican*, Massachusetts; Mr. Richardson, correspondent of the *New York Tribune*; and Lt.-Governor Bross, of the *Chicago Tribune*. The companionship of these journalists, the public position of Mr. Colfax, his reputation and personal popularity, and the fact that he was on a tour of exploration as well as of pleasure, made the journey one that was almost like a public mission. It was a continual ovation. The speeches that Mr. Colfax made

would more than fill a volume. While they were so numerous, his critical editorial comrades have borne ample testimony that they were ever fresh, able, and varied, and heard with delight and enthusiasm. Mr. Bowles, in his book, "Across the Continent," has given a pleasing narrative of the incidents of the trip and a panorama of the way. Many thousands of delighted hearers in cities and villages, East and West, have listened to the lecture of Mr. Colfax on the same theme; a lecture repeated many times in different parts of the country, though not so many by some hundreds as there were requests for its delivery.

In the beginning of his Congressional career, Mr. Colfax had taken as decided a stand against the polygamy of Utah as he had against the introduction of slavery into Kansas. During his Congressional life, as occasion had demanded, he had reiterated his views. In 1865, when a visitor at Salt Lake City, returning the call made by Brigham Young upon himself and party, in the chief Mormon's own home, Mr. Colfax was as clear and distinct and outspoken in his opposition to polygamy as upon the stump in his own district or upon the floor of Congress. When Brigham Young, after arguing in behalf of their system of plurality of wives, stating that the Mormons had adopted it in consequence of a revelation from heaven, and not because of their desire for it, asked Mr. Colfax how he expected it would be done away; Mr. Colfax promptly replied: We expect you to have a new revelation prohibiting it. Or there may be another solution, said Mr. Colfax. You may do away with it by your own voluntary action, legally, peacefully, just as Missouri and Maryland abolished slavery.

The following extracts from a speech by Mr. Colfax in Salt Lake City, show with what wisdom, as a statesman, and with what frankness and fairness as a man he dealt with the people. He exhibits to them the advantages which a paternal Government will yield them, to which they are also entitled as rights; but also shows them the duties they are bound to yield to the Government, and upon the performance of which their rights are contingent:

"It happened to be my fortune in Congress to do a little towards increasing the postal facilities in the West, not so much as I desired, but as much as I could obtain from Congress. And when it was proposed, to the astonishment of my fellow-members, that there should be a daily mail run across these pathless plains and mighty mountains, through the wilderness of the West to the Pacific, with the pathway lined with our enemies, the savages of the forest, and where the luxuries and even the necessaries of life in some parts of the route are unknown, the project was not considered possible; and then, when in my position as Chairman of the Post Office Committee, I proposed that we should vote a million of dollars a-year to put that mail across the continent, members came to me and said: 'You will ruin yourself.' They thought it was monstrous, an unjust and extravagant expenditure. Though I knew little of the West then, compared to what I have learned in the few weeks of this trip, I said to them: 'The people along the line of that route have a right to demand it at your hands, and in their behalf I demand it.' (Cheers.) Finally, the bill was coaxed through, and you have a daily mail running through here with almost

the regularity of clock-work. You had a right to demand that. You had a right to demand, as the Eastern portion of this Republic had telegraphic communication speeding the messages of life and death, of pleasure and of traffic, that the same way for you should be opened up by that frail wire, the conductor of Jove's thunderbolts, tamed down for the use of man. Therefore, it fell to my fortune to demand it also for you. I would not allude to these things, but the chairman of your committee alluded to them yesterday morning, as one reason, though differing, as I know you do, from me in many respects, why you had seen fit to extend this compliment. But, to resume, I insisted that there should be this wire across this continent. No one was willing to undertake the matter unless the Government aided. I proposed that we should pay a subsidy. It was easy to pass it in the Senate, but in the House of Representatives it was more difficult, as there are more conflicting interests and closer division of parties hostile to each other. When I proposed that we should pay forty thousand dollars a year, men were amazed at it; however, we finally carried that through, and not a man in all the land regrets it to-day. There was another great interest you had a right to demand. Instead of the slow, toilsome and expensive manner in which you freight your goods and hardware to this distant territory, you should have a speedy transit between the Missouri valley and this intra-montane basin in which you live. Instead of paying two or three prices—sometimes overrunning the cost of the article—you should have a railroad communication, and California demanded this. (Cheers.) I said, as did many others in Congress, 'This is a great national enterprise; we must bind the Atlantic and

Pacific States together by bands of iron; we must send the iron-horse through all these valleys and mountains of the interior, and when thus interlaced together we shall be a more compact and homogeneous Republic.' And the Pacific Railroad Bill passed. This great work of uniting three thousand miles, from shore to shore, is to be consummated, and we hail the day of peace, because with peace we can do many things as a nation that we cannot do in war. This railroad is to be built, the company is to build it; if they do not the Government will. It shall be put through soon, not toilsomely, slowly as a far-distant event, but as an event of the decade in which we live. (Cheers.)

"All these are matters that you have a right to demand of the national Congress. (A voice, 'and what of the State?') A gentleman suggests about the State. I will answer very frankly about the State. The Constitution says: 'Congress may admit new States,' it does not say Congress SHALL admit them, and Congress does as it pleases; and the tie vote of the Speaker is very rarely called for or needed to adopt or reject. I might speak more fully on this point, but I do not come here to discuss controverted matters. I will not speak to you with a forked or double tongue to-night, for the life of a public man is such that it is open in all its pages before the world. You know whether I have sought to advance your interests. If I have not in the past, I could not convince you by profession to-night. I have told you what you have a right to demand of your Government, and all the people of this broad land have precisely the same rights as you. And now, what has the Government a right to demand of you? It is not that which Napoleon exacts from his officers in France—which is

'allegiance to the Constitution and fidelity to the Emperor.' Thank God we have no Emperor nor despot in this country, throned or unthroned. (Cheers.) Here, every man has the right, himself, to exercise his elective suffrage as he sees fit, none molesting him or making him afraid. And the duty of every American citizen is condensed in a single sentence, as I said to your committee yesterday—not in allegiance to an Emperor, *but allegiance to the Constitution, obedience to the laws, and devotion to the Union.* (Cheers.) When you live up to *that* standard you have the right to demand protection; and were you three times three thousand miles from the national Capital, wherever the starry banner of the Republic waves and a man stands under it, if his rights of life, liberty and property are assailed, and he has rendered this allegiance to his country, it is the duty of the Government to reach out its arm, if it take a score of regiments, to protect and uphold him in his rights."

CHAPTER XXVI.

RETURN OF MR. COLFAX—MANY ALARMED AT INDICATIONS OF CHANGE IN PRESIDENT JOHNSON—MR. COLFAX IN THE QUIET OF HIS HOME DETERMINES HIS DUTY—SERENADE SPEECH AT WASHINGTON—THE PRESIDENT NOT PLEASED—MR. COLFAX RE-ELECTED SPEAKER—INAUGURAL—PRESIDES AT FINAL ANNIVERSARY OF UNITED STATES CHRISTIAN COMMISSION.

When Mr. Colfax set out upon his overland journey he thought it very probable that a special session of the

Thirty-ninth Congress might be called on account of the emergencies arising from reconstruction. He therefore kept himself always within reach of the telegraph, so that if there was need he could speedily be at the post of duty. No extra session of Congress, however, was called. When he returned home he found that President Johnson was losing the confidence of many in the party which had elected him. Mr. Colfax was importuned to come to Washington; but he preferred, in the quiet of his own home, to consider the state of the country, and determine upon that course which in his judgment would be right. Shortly before the organization of Congress he went to Washington. A large crowd of friends repaired to his quarters and complimented him with a serenade. In response to earnest calls he addressed them upon the principles of reconstruction, insisting that, in addition to Mr. Johnson's requirements from the South, Congress should, by legislation, demand additional and irreversible guarantees, both for the protection of the freedmen and the preservation of the Union from another rebellion. This was the first speech of any Congressman taking issue with the President's "policy," and Mr. Johnson has always denounced it as the initiation of the Congressional policy which antagonized his, but which the people have so signally indorsed and approved.

The next day Mr. Colfax called upon President Johnson; the President was not at all pleased with the speech, and was sorry that Mr. Colfax had not consulted with him before speaking to the assembling Congress and the country upon the important subject of reconstruction. Mr. Colfax's reply, in substance, was, that surely the President could have no respect for him, if he did not utter the honest convictions of his heart.

The Thirty-ninth Congress was organized by the re-election of Mr. Colfax as Speaker; he receiving one hundred and thirty-nine votes, and Mr. Brooks, of New York, thirty-six.

The Speaker delivered the following address:

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: The re-assembling of Congress, marking, as it does, the procession of our national history, is always regarded with interest by the people for whom it is to legislate, but it is not unsafe to say that millions more than ever before, North, South, East and West, are looking to the Congress which opens its first session to-day, with an earnestness and solicitude unequalled on similar occasions in the past. The Thirty-eighth Congress closed its constitutional existence with the storm-cloud of war still over us, and after a nine months' absence Congress resumes its legislative authority in these council halls, rejoicing that from shore to shore in our land there is peace.

"Its duties are as obvious as the sun's pathway in the heavens. Representing in its two branches the States and the People, its first and highest obligation is to guarantee to every State a republican form of government. The rebellion having overthrown the constitutional State governments in many States, it is your duty to mature and enact legislation which, with the concurrence of such a basis of enduring justice as will guarantee all necessary safeguards to the people, will afford what our Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, proclaims the chief object of government, protection to all men in their alienable rights. (Applause.) The world should witness in this great work

the most inflexible fidelity, the most earnest devotion to the principles of liberty and humanity, the truest patriotism, and the wisest statesmanship. Men, by the hundreds of thousands, have died that the Republic might live. The emblem of mourning darkened the White House and the cabin alike, but the fires of civil war have melted every fetter in the land, and proved the funeral pyre of slavery.

"It is for you, Representatives, to do your work as faithfully and as well as did the fearless saviours of the Union in their more dangerous arenas of duty. Then we may hope to see the vacant and once abandoned seats around us gradually filling up, until this hall shall contain Representatives from every State and district, their hearts devoted to the Union for which they are to legislate; jealous of its honor, proud of its glory, watchful of its rights and hostile to its enemies. The stars on our banners that paled when the States they represented arrayed themselves in arms against the nation, will then shine with a more brilliant light of loyalty than ever before. (Applause.)

"Invoking the guidance of Him who holds the destiny of nations in the hollow of His hand, I enter again upon the duties of this trying position with a heart filled with gratitude for the unusually flattering manner in which it has been bestowed, and cheered by the hope that it betokens your cordial support and assistance in all its grave responsibilities. I am now ready to take the oath of office prescribed by law."

The soldiers never had a better friend than Mr. Colfax. The sympathies of his heart, his means, and his labors, were given to them without stint. Pleading the cause

of the Christian and Sanitary Commissions, he had been their frequent and eloquent advocate before the public.

Upon the 11th of February, 1866, the United States Christian Commission held its final anniversary at Washington, in the Hall of the House of Representatives. Mr. Colfax was called to preside. Upon taking the chair, he made the following brief address:

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The fearful trial to which our Republic was subjected for the preservation of its existence is over. The loved and lost, who died that the nation might live, sleep in their bloody shrouds in village churchyards, on innumerable battle-fields, near prison camps, alas, too, in unmarked graves, but all enshrined with the sainted dead of the revolution in millions of hearts forevermore. The yet vacant chair at many a lonely hearthstone tells the silent story of sacrifices such as the world has never rivalled before. But the gates of our temple of Janus are closed. From the battle-line, which swept across our country thousands of miles from Gettysburg to the boundaries of the Mexican Republic, the bannered hosts have returned to their waiting homes, volunteers transformed by the shock of arms into veterans, and hailed as the saviours of the Union. The sword is exchanged for the ploughshare, and the great Rebellion, organized on broken oaths, and culminating in the murder of the nation's chief, with the great Uprising which so patriotically confronted it, and the great Victory, which crushed it, have passed into history, which Cicero tells us is 'the evidence of ages, the light of memory, and the school of life!'

"It is under these auspicious circumstances that this Organization, inspired from that Throne whence flow all good impulses, which, like a handmaiden of mercy, went forth with our armies to succor and to save, returns to-

night to this Representative-hall to render a final account of its stewardship. Of its thousands of active and willing co-laborers, and its millions of expenditure, you will hear from abler tongues than mine. From all quarters of the nation, from church-altar, and family circle, from merchants and manufacturers, from mechanics and miners, from the tillers of the earth and the sailors on the sea, from crowded cities and humble cabins, from the munificent donations of the wealthy to the widows' mite, came the material aid, which poured its mighty volume into the coffers of the Christian Commission. And its agents, thus endowed with the unstinted gifts of patriotic benevolence, and clad in the armor of a nation's sympathy, went forth to win the glorious victories they so gloriously achieved—victories over sufferings, victories over disease, victories over death itself, from whose icy grasp they rescued so many thousands by their more than Samaritan ministrations. To the battle-field they came, to snatch our brave defenders from under the guns of the enemy, where they had fallen. To the hospital they came, to minister in the place of the beloved wife and mother, so far away, and to pour oil, if possible, into the expiring lamp of life. To the death-bed of the departing hero they came, to smooth his pathway to the tomb and to point him to the better land, where he should live a life that would never die.

"Resting from their labors of love, now that the victorious ensign of the Republic waves over the entire land, and our Constitution has become the New Testament of our freedom, they rejoice with all who rejoice over a country saved for its brilliant destiny hereafter, in that noble sentiment, deeper, profounder in its significance to-day than when first uttered in this Capitol, 'Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!'"

CHAPTER XXVII.

BREACH BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS—THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL PASSED OVER THE PRESIDENT'S VETO—SERENADE SPEECH OF MR. COLFAX ON THAT OCCASION.

Upon the reading of the message of the President at the opening of the Thirty-ninth Congress, it was evident beyond all peradventure that the President was opposed in the reconstruction of the Government to the leaders of the Republican party, and at variance with his own previously expressed principles. The breach between the President and Congress widened continually. The President removing the provisional Governor of Alabama, and handing the State government over to officers elected by the people, virtually denied the authority of Congress over the reconstruction of the rebel States. The Freedmen's Bureau Bill, which had been passed by a large majority in Congress, was vetoed by him. The veto message gave evidence that the President was willing that those who, through four years of dreadful war, had sought to destroy the country, should have an equal voice with loyal men in determining the terms of its reconstruction. The President also vetoed the Civil Rights Bill. This bill had been prepared with great care. It seemed to the Republican party to be essential for the preservation of the results gained by the war. A majority of more than the requisite two-thirds passed this bill over the President's veto, and placed it among the statutes of the land. There was great rejoicing

among the Republicans at this result. The citizens of Indiana, in honor of the event, serenaded Mr. Colfax, who, in acknowledging the compliment, made the following address to them:

SERENADE SPEECH.

"I have no doubt that you, like myself, rejoice with exceeding great joy, and are prouder to-day of being citizens of this great country than ever before. There was a time in this land of ours when slavery was regarded as the corner-stone of American institutions. Thank God, that time has passed, and we build henceforth on a foundation of liberty. To-day, under the legislation of the American Congress, in this Republic, washed by the waters of the two great oceans of the globe, there is no person, rich or poor, high or humble, learned or unlearned, who does not live in security under the protection of equal laws. I am prouder to-day, also, of the great Union organization of which I have been a member than ever before. Its history is nobly written in the history of our country. Administrations, and Congresses, and parties may pass away, but the record which this party has made will shine with more brilliancy on our country's pages than any others in the annals of our history. When the great rebellion broke out, and when our ship of state rocked in a fearful storm, and was threatened by a terrible mutiny, the Union organization stood unflinchingly by our noble President, the martyred Lincoln, in his determination to crush the conspiracy and preserve the Government intact; and when it prophesied to us, that the rebellion could not be subjugated, the Union-loving people of the country, forming into a mighty phalanx, determined that it

should be. The patriotic enactments of this great party are imperishable. In 1862 the Capital was disgraced by slavery; but they determined that henceforth it should be free, and with unwavering fidelity to principle they placed upon the statute-book that law which never can be and never shall be repealed, that in this Capital there should be no slave. In 1863 our noble and true-hearted President issued his Proclamation of Emancipation, striking with the sword of the Union that powerful element of rebel strength, and the Union party stood by him, determined to give that proclamation vitality, carrying it successfully in the great campaign of 1864. When the Constitutional amendment was proposed in Congress banishing slavery, as an unclean thing, forever from the country, and declaring that henceforth and forever it should be the home of the free, that noble organization again united and rallied to its support, and placed that amendment on the statute-book. Again, in this year of 1866, in the Senate chamber and in the Representative-hall, they have placed by overwhelming majorities the Civil Rights Bill on your statute-book, which declares that every one born on American soil, and all who come here from abroad, and are naturalized in our courts, shall have a birthright as an American citizen. That law, misrepresented as it has been by its opponents in Congress, will never be repealed; and in the years that are to come it will be the proudest recollection and the crowning honor of those men, who stood up in the national councils, that they gave to such truly American legislation their cordial support. For why should there be objections to a law like that?

"Every one born on the soil of the Republic owes to it allegiance; and is it not then the reciprocal duty of the

Republic to give to him its protection? Henceforth, whenever in this land a person shall be oppressed or outraged, or his rights withheld; whenever 'tyranny may shake his sceptre over him,' he has but to turn to the national flag and to the national Government for that protection which the Congress of the United States has ordained is his right. We are sometimes asked—and I know with what solicitude the American people regard it—why the work of reconstruction has been delayed. I do not think it has been unreasonably delayed. The President of the United States, in the eight months between the collapse of the rebellion and the opening of Congress, was engaged in the work of that policy, which seemed to him the most fitting, and Congress has been engaged for the past four months in collecting testimony, in comparing opinions, and in proposing action to lay the foundation of a reconstruction, which shall make our Union eternal as the ages. But they have already in past years initiated a policy of reconstruction. In 1862 they placed upon the statute-book the first law indicating their policy of reconstruction, the law known as the test oath, declaring that no man should be eligible to office, who could not swear that he had not voluntarily given aid and comfort to bloody conspiracy and treason. That law was well understood by the American people South as well as North. No one expected that then, when the rebellion had its armies in the field against the Union, any one would come knocking at the door of Congress, claiming to represent the States of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South or North Carolina, Florida or Texas. But it was believed when the rebellion should end, the men who had insultingly turned their backs on Congress and spurned their seats, who

had killed the Union defenders and sought to capture this Capital, would, with the assurance of old times, demand that they should govern the country which they had ineffectually attempted to ruin. That test oath was placed there, as the flaming sword at the garden of Eden, to warn such men that until there were fruits meet for repentance, or bonds for future good behavior, there was no place in these precincts for them. Again, the policy of reconstruction was indicated by Congress in the winter of 1864, when it passed nearly unanimously, and without the yeas and nays, a joint resolution that the Vice-President, in counting the Presidential votes, should not count the electoral votes of any State that had been engaged in the rebellion. That was intended to proclaim that until Congress removed their disqualifications by laws restoring them to their rights, they should stand back. Congress has, therefore, by these two striking enactments, indicated its policy of reconstruction. But the Constitution shows, in still plainer language, where the responsibility of reconstruction rests. It has declared that every State shall be guaranteed a republican form of government; and in a subsequent section, it declares that Congress shall have power to make all laws necessary and proper to carry into execution all the powers vested in it, or in any department or officer of the Government. This was intended to declare that Congress is the only law-making power of this land; and by the Constitution, to Congress and Congress alone, all must look for legal reconstruction. The President of the United States, in his proclamation last May, appointing provisional Governors, declared that the States which had been in rebellion were without civil government. That was a fact as apparent as the stars when they shine

in the heavens. My regret is, for I must speak frankly, that Congress was not at that time called together. I believe it would have hastened the work of reconstruction. I believe that Congress, and the President, by his approval of their legislation, would have united last summer on a policy of reconstruction which would have been acceptable to both branches of the Government, and in which the South, seeing this concurrent action, would have acquiesced. The Constitution of the United States declares that the President, on extraordinary occasions, may convene Congress. It has seemed to me that last April was an extraordinary occasion. The President had been murdered by a rebel conspirator, and the Vice-President had assumed the Presidential functions; the rebellion had seen its flag trampled in the dust and its armies surrendered. It has seemed to me that, if there ever was an 'extraordinary occasion,' this was one. But the President—and I recognize his full Constitutional authority to decide the question—deemed that it was not expedient to call Congress together, and went on himself with the work of reconstruction. I believe that he entered upon and proceeded with that work *at the outset*, intending it as an experiment that it would be best to test before Congress reassembled. I am confirmed in that belief by the messages which he sent to the Governors of Florida and Mississippi, stating that the restoration of their States would depend upon Congress; but I do not think it resulted in developing loyalty at the South. Congress at last convened on the first Monday of December last. It could not convene earlier, for it had no power to meet until its regular session, unless convened by the President. It appointed a committee to examine into the condition of the late

Confederate States, and it was only one short month ago they received official documents from the Executive Departments, which enabled them to know what transpired during the long recess of Congress, and now it is able to act intelligently, with some official knowledge of the situation.

"You will ask, perhaps, what is my policy of reconstruction. I will tell you in a few words. It is the policy of reconstruction laid down by Andrew Johnson with such emphasis and earnestness in his speeches made to the public between the month of June, 1864, and the month of May, 1865. Whatever may be the change in his views now, they showed his construction *then* of the Baltimore platform; his radical speeches in Tennessee were indorsed by his election, and I stand by those declarations. They can be condensed into one single sentence, and that is, 'Loyal men shall govern a preserved Republic.'"

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LETTER OF MR. COLFAX, JULY, 1866, TO CONVENTION OF NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF INDIANA—HIS RENOMINATION—RECEPTION AT HOME—RE-ELECTION—RESPONSE AT WASHINGTON TO THE WELCOME BACK GIVEN TO THE THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS.

Upon the adjournment of Congress in July, the contest between the President and Congress was continued

before the people. The election for members of the Fortieth Congress was pending. Mr. Colfax wrote the following letter to the nominating convention of his district:

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
"WASHINGTON, *July* 2, 1866.

"DEAR SIRS: The harmony and success of the Union organization, welded together in the furnace-fire of a four years' war, is of such paramount importance to all other considerations, that I write you this letter to be read at the Westville Convention, that my position may be unmistakably understood by those who have honored me with their confidence so cordially and so long.

"Last winter, when my name had been suggested by several papers in various parts of the State for the Senate, I published a card, stating that I was not, and never had been, a candidate for that distinguished position, having always preferred service in the House. But my name must not be in the way a single moment, if any considerable portion of the Convention prefer some other standard bearer, even though that portion should be a minority. In that event, the delegation from St. Joseph county are requested to withdraw my name, and to pledge my most earnest exertions to whoever of the many active and faithful friends of the Union cause the Convention may prefer to nominate.

"The contest before us is of as vital importance to the truest and best interests of the nation as the exciting contests of 1862 and 1864; and the issues should be clearly and distinctly before the people. They can be condensed into a single question, '*Which shall govern in the councils of the nation, loyalty or disloyalty?*' It has

been well said, in language as terse as it is true, that the power to carry on war for national existence carries with it the power to prescribe the terms of peace. The duty of guarding the land against the danger of a second rebellion is as imperative as its preservation from the first. And nothing seems clearer than that the same authority which prevented eleven States from destroying the Union, has a right, as indisputable as the right of self defence, to regulate the resumption of the relations of these States.

"When the rebel armies surrendered, the President decided, and rightly, that civil government had been destroyed in each of the rebel States, and he officially proclaimed that fact in his commissions to provisional Governors thereof. The Congressional policy starts from the same initial point. The President declared that essential conditions, involving great changes, must be complied with by those States before they could resume their forfeited rights. And so does Congress. The President required the ratification of an important Constitutional amendment, which had been submitted by a Congress representing the loyal States, and in which the rebel States had no voice. And Congress makes a similar demand to-day. If the President could rightfully require their ratification of one amendment, changing their whole system of labor, and destroying what they regarded as vested rights of property, proposed by a Congress in which they were unrepresented, and in conflict, as it was, with their life-long prejudices, why cannot the Congress, elected as the law-making power of the country by the same voters as himself, require the ratification of another amendment, preventing the rebel States from wielding increased power in Congress

hereafter, because of the war, which, against their desires, had lifted their slaves into the full stature of freemen?

"That this amendment is in accordance with the wishes of the loyal millions who won the brilliant political victory of 1864, is proven by the unanimity with which it was supported in the House of Representatives. Every man, elected as a Union member, whether from the North or the South, from the East or the West, gave it his vote; not barely the two-thirds required by the Constitution, but nearly four-fifths. On this amendment, as a security for the future, the Union party of the nation have planted themselves; and I shall stand with them most cordially, vindicating its justice, wisdom, and necessity, and willing on it to stand or fall.

"For one, I do not doubt the result. Shall rebels settle their own terms of coming back to govern us? Shall they reascend to enlarged and increased powers, using as steps the graves of the Union dead? Should not Congress, whose solemn duty it is to see that the Republic suffers no evil, pause before the bitter foes of yesterday are admitted to the inner sanctuary of the nation's life? Ought they not to guard the halls of national legislation from being trodden by the feet of those who have been murdering the defenders of the Union for fidelity to an allegiance they themselves so wickedly repudiated?

"Every newspaper in the land, North or South, which eulogized Jefferson Davis and villified Abraham Lincoln, now denounces Congress in the severest terms. Every unrepentant rebel and unscrupulous sympathizer joins them in their revilings. But I rejoice that it has been so faithful, so inflexible, in what it has regarded as the

pathway of Duty and of Right. And it now remains for the people, by their indorsement or rejection of its proposed Constitutional guarantee, to approve or to condemn those who present it as an indispensable prerequisite to the restoration of the forfeited rights and the political power our enemies made such hot haste to resign and abjure at the opening of the rebellion. Nor are these terms oppressive or unjust. Never has a nation, whose existence has been imperilled, and whose hundreds of thousands of graves, and thousands of millions of debt, attest its gigantic sacrifices, offered more lenient conditions to those who conspired for its destruction. Have we forgotten the insulting defiance with which their members, sworn like ourselves to the Constitution and the Union, left their seats here—the persecutions, conscriptions, tyranny, expulsions, and hanging by the rebel authorities of all who refused to foreswear like themselves, their allegiance to their country and their flag—the wilful torture and starvation of scores of thousands of our soldiers when prisoners in their hands —their unyielding persistency in the parricidal conflict till armed rebellion expired, not from change of will, but from poverty of resources, and the heroism of the loyal boys in blue—the continued existence of this hostile feeling as evidenced in their political and social proscription of every Southerner who fought for his country, the disloyal utterances of their press and pulpit, and the election in every rebel State of Governors who had served or fought for the rebellion? Despite all this, Congress only asks that representation North and South shall be based on those eligible to participation in political power; that the civil rights of all persons, native born or naturalized shall be maintained; the

national debt and the pension list preserved inviolate; the rebel debt repudiated; and exclusion from office of those who, having once taken and broken an oath of fidelity to the nation, could not be trusted in the faithful fulfilment hereafter of another similar obligation.

"Contrast this with the course of our fathers towards those who, during the revolutionary war, refused to fight for the independence of the Colonies. The tories of that day insisted that their allegiance and loyalty were due to the King, and that they should not be compelled to transfer them. But the stern patriots who founded our Government would tolerate no such argument. Determined to create a pure national sentiment, they 'made toryism odious,' in every possible way. They admitted none of them to seats in the Congress of the nation against which they had warred. They allowed no floral processions to the graves of the tory dead, nor the use of such pretexts for treasonable speeches of eulogy on their 'lost cause.' They suffered no tory papers to exist, and scatter their malignant poison over the land. They disfranchised and expatriated them. Such was the reconstruction policy of our fathers.

"Strongly in contrast with this as is the reconstruction policy of Congress, so mild and forgiving of the blackest of crimes, not for revenge but for defence, not for punishment but for justice, our Democratic opponents have arrayed themselves against it, and the people are to decide the issue. If you would take on board as a crew to work your ship those who had just been striving to scuttle and destroy it, then it might be believed that the American people would throw open the doors of their Congress, and intrust appropriations for pensions and the public debt, and legislation for all

matters of national concern, to those who sought to whelm the nation in a common ruin, and who, if they had the power to day, would shatter the Republic and rebuild their Confederacy.

"In 1864, when the Democratic National Convention at Chicago resolved that the war was a failure, and demanded an immediate cessation of hostilities by our armies, thus waving the white flag of surrender, Jefferson Davis, the President of the rebel conspiracy, waited and watched for the result with the deepest anxiety. The magnificent uprising of the people destroyed his hopes; and, with the resistless blows of our gallant soldiers, his wicked cause went down. Now, in 1866, A. H. Stevens, the Vice-President of that treasonable organization, proclaims that their hope is in the elections of this fall. Again these false hopes must be destroyed. The rebel States will realize, in the response of the loyal millions to the issue, that the determination of those who saved the Union from their fierce attacks, to have guarantees against another rebellion, is inflexible. Yielding as they must to these demands, which, considering their course, are even more generous than just, the Fortieth Congress will witness loyal Senators and Representatives in their seats from every State. And the Union, thus auspiciously reconstructed on the enduring basis of loyalty, universal liberty, the elevation of the oppressed, and the right of all men, born under our flag, or naturalized in our courts, to the equal protection of the law, will commence a new career of progress, prosperity and power.

"Truly yours,

"SCHUYLER COLFAX."

Mr. Colfax was again, for the eighth time, unanimously and enthusiastically nominated. He returned to his home at South Bend, on Wednesday, August 1st. His return was made the occasion of a grand public rejoicing by the people of the community in which he has lived for thirty years, and who, knowing him intimately, are all the more firmly his friends for that thorough knowledge. That reception was thus described by the Rev. Arthur Edwards, one of the editors of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, of Chicago:

"On last Wednesday, August 1st, 1866, the Hon. Speaker Schuyler Colfax reached his home at South Bend, Indiana, where he was greeted in good, old-fashioned Hoosier style, by earnest, loyal, political, and personal friends. These, with heartfelt unanimity, seemed to share a common spirit of enthusiasm. When the morning train reached Laporte and South Bend, crowds were in waiting. At the depot of the latter place were old patriarchs who knew 'our boy Schuyler,' middle-aged men whom he had gracefully distanced in the race of life, and wondering children, to whom this was a holiday, attending carriages, wagons, nondescript vehicles of all sorts, flags, banners, and bands playing 'Home, Sweet Home,' all in waiting to honor the return of a distinguished yet simple-hearted citizen. Descending from the railway platform, Mr. Colfax was almost literally carried in their arms to an adjoining rostrum, where, in intense silence, the formal yet sincere and touching welcome was pronounced by Judge Wade, formerly Colonel of the Seventy-third Indiana Infantry, who, during the war, was by Mr. Colfax delivered from actual squalid horrors and impending death in Libby Prison.

"The orator, in substance, thanked Mr. Colfax in the name of his fellow-citizens for the honors he in his public life had won for them; in the name of loyal citizens, who feel that he is a prominent part of the trusty bulwark which shields them from public enemies; and, finally, in the name of soldiers who have learned by experience that he was patriotically, unselfishly, constantly, and unflaggingly devoted to their interests.

"The speaker closed, and for a moment we trembled for the silver-tongued statesman, who hitherto had gracefully addressed Presidents and Senates, but whose owner's heart seemed just then more ready to sit down and weep upon the threshold of its bereaved home, than to dictate the words whose meaning it were far easier to feel. But soon the ringing sentences began to flow, and the returning guest to feel literally at home. Then the shouts, and the procession through the streets, whose doors and windows fairly shone with nodding heads and bright faces. For once in our life, amid all this unostentatious, spontaneous excitement of that pure inland town, we discovered a prophet having honor and enjoying love 'in his own country.' We would rather have that honor and love than the Speakership. Twice happy the man who enjoys both at the hands of the American Republic."

Upon the afternoon of the day of his return home, he opened the canvass of his district in a speech to over five thousand people. The following paragraphs will give us the spirit of the speech, and what manner of life it had pervading its arguments:

"I say now at the outset, lest any man may misunderstand the long argument I make to-day, if there is any voter of this district here to-day who is anxious that his

Representative should favor the *unconditional* admission into the councils of the nation of the men who have been the murderers of your brothers, your sons, and your friends, who plunged this country into all the anarchy, the bloodshed, and desolation of civil war, that man ought not to vote for me for Representative.

"The silent admonitions from the quarter million graves of Union dead come to us, never to surrender the interests of this great land into the hands of the men against whom they warred, and who shot them down. It seems to me that argument is useless in a case like this. This treason tore from you your husbands, fathers, brothers, sons; it tortured them with even fiendish cruelty; immured them in the filth of prison pens; starved them to skeletons; consigned them to untimely graves; and yet these men, the leaders of that treason, come back to us and clamor about 'their rights.' Every religious creed in the civilized world declares three things essential to forgiveness for sin: first, repentance, hearty and sincere; second, faith and fidelity to prove that repentance; and, third, good works as an evidence of that repentance. When I see these, my arms will welcome back these men from the South; but while I see this spirit of hate still existing, and while I see this haughty arrogance and impudent, unrepenting disloyalty, I say, when we reconstruct, let us build on the immortal principles of the Declaration of Independence, on the solid granite of indisputable loyalty, rather than the treacherous quicksands of unrepentant disloyalty, and all will be well."

Again, with his accustomed unwearying labor and glowing zeal, Mr. Colfax traversed his district, pleading the cause of his country and the loyal Congress against

a recreant Executive. Again the old results followed, sweeping majorities, and his triumphant re-election; his majority in the county of his residence, which, amid all the vicissitudes of politics, has always sustained him, being greater than ever before, the county becoming the banner-county of the district.

Throughout the country, the loyal Congress was sustained, and the policy of the President condemned, by the ballots of the people. Upon the return of this Congress to Washington, in December, it was welcomed back again with a public reception from its loyal citizens. Mr. Colfax made the following response to this welcome back to Washington of the Thirty-ninth Congress:

"FELLOW-CITIZENS: Only four months have passed away since the first session of this Congress closed, and the members, whom you now greet with such earnest and generous welcome, returned to their homes to render an account of their stewardship to the people, and to discuss before that tribunal, from which there is no rightful appeal, the greatest issues ever submitted.

"On the battle-field, to which treason invited the nation, our defenders, on sea too as well as on shore, had triumphantly decided that our star-gemmed banner should never become the winding sheet of the World's best hopes; but, after their conflicts and their sacrifices, it remained for the people at the ballot-box, and the people's Senators and Representatives in these halls of legislation, to guard the Republic effectually against another rebellion, drenching the land in blood, and, after this terrible contest for national existence, to reconstruct it on such enduring principles that posterity would realize to the latest syllable of recorded time that our fallen heroes had not died in vain.

"But four months since we left this Capital; yet how crowded are they with events! the bloody massacre at New Orleans the very week after our adjournment; and the extraordinary speech of the President at St. Louis, palliating the guilt of the murderers and charging its grave responsibilities on the Congress of the United States; the two Philadelphia conventions, the one memorable for the frank acknowledgment, that those who denounced Congress are really arm-in-arm with the men trampling on broken oaths, who had sought to destroy the nation's life; and the other honored by the presence of faithful loyalists, who, when the storm of treason swept over their States, refused to bow the knee to Baal; the expulsion from office of thousands, trusted and commissioned by our martyred President, to whom, more than any other equal number of men, the present administration is indebted for the power it wields, their crime being inflexible fidelity to the principles professed by the successful candidate for the Vice-Presidency, in the canvass of 1864; the hundreds of speeches of the Presidential tour throughout the land, and their republication in millions of copies from all our prominent presses, bringing the issues to the hearthstone of every voter; the magnificent response of the people from ocean to ocean, condemning the policy of which they had heard so much, and attesting their unshaken confidence in the Congress, which had stood so fearlessly, faithfully, and so immovably in the pathway of duty and of right.

"Thank God, in this land the people are the only rulers. Every two years they resume their sovereignty, and, at the ballot-box given to them by the dead of the revolution, they make and unmake Congress. They rebuke or condemn administrations. They *com-*

mand, and Congress and Presidents must obey. We return then to these halls to carry out and enforce this decision of the rulers of the nation, the people. No men can misunderstand their will. Four points have been settled by them beyond all controversy:

"First: That the work of reconstruction must be in the hands of those who have been the friends, not the enemies of the nation; that it must be based upon indisputable loyalty, and that those whose wicked leadership and guilty repudiation of solemn oaths plunged a peaceful country into the bloody conflict of civil war, shall not be clothed with power to legislate for the widows and orphans—the kith and kin of the men they have slain, in their attempt to slay the nation itself.

"Second: That the promise of Abraham Lincoln, in his immortal proclamation, that the freedom of our emancipated millions should be maintained, must be fulfilled both in letter and in spirit, and guaranteed beyond any power of abridgment in our supreme law; forbidding interference by any unfriendly State with the privileges and immunities of the liberty granted by the whole nation to its people.

"Third: That no persons shall be disfranchised in this Republic on account of their race, and yet have their numbers counted to confer increased political power on those disfranchising them.

"Fourth: That the national debt, the cost of our national existence, shall be forever sacred, and that all debts or claims growing out of the rebellion, or the breaking of fetters that ended it, shall be forever held illegal and void. And the people also decreed as their desire and will that Congress should enforce this decision of theirs by appropriate legislation.

"Free as these few but vital points were from every consideration of revenge or malice, looking only as they did to public justice and public safety, and even more generous than just, it was certainly to have been expected, that if there was in the region, where those who had warred against the country so bitterly for years still bore sway, any returning love for the Union, any sorrow for their crimes, these essential requirements would have been assented to promptly; or, if not promptly, at least as soon as the elections had manifested the nation's will. But, on the contrary, they are spurned and scornfully rejected by those who control public opinion and wield political power in the South.

"The recent elections of most conspicuous secessionists in North Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, etc., with their gubernatorial messages, is the defiant reply. Rejecting the constitutional amendment, they show that they insist upon representation in Congress, and the Electoral College, for all the four millions of their former slaves, thus ascending to enlarged and increased law-making power in consequence of their rebellion; while at the same time they not only disfranchise them, and refuse them the right and protection of citizens, but by disgraceful laws pretending to regulate labor contracts and to punish vagrancy, reduce those whom the nation made free to a condition of subserviency and serfdom, but little, if any, better than slavery itself. Yet while we cannot compel them to approve the constitutional amendment, our duty to the nation, to justice, liberty and humanity, is none the less; and, exponents of the national will as we are, we cannot avoid that duty.

"Indeed, we may see in it the finger of Providence. Like our fathers, we have in the past few years, 'builded

better than we knew.' In the earlier stages of the war, how willingly would an overwhelming majority of the people have consented to perpetual slavery in the Republic, if Southern traitors had taken from our lips the bloody chalice of cruel war, which they compelled us to drain to its very dregs. But God willed otherwise, and at last, when every family altar had been crimsoned with blood, and every cemetery and church-yard crowded with patriot graves, the nation rose to a higher plane of duty, and resolved in these halls that slavery must die. Then the storm-cloud of war passed away; God's smile shone on our banners, victory after victory blessed our gallant armies, and the crowning triumph was won, that gave salvation to the Union, and freedom to the slave. Since then we have been earnestly struggling for reconstruction, on some enduring and loyal foundation. Stumbling-blocks have impeded our progress, and at last, when a mild and magnanimous proposition is made, embodying no confiscations, no banishments, no penalties of the offended law, we are baffled by a hardening of heart against it, as inexplicable as it seems irremovable. Does it not seem as if again the Creator was leading us in his way rather than our own? And as we turn for light, does it not flash upon us, that He again requires the nation to conquer its prejudices; that, as He, so far above us, has put all human beings under an equality before the divine law and called them all his own children, He demands that we should put all under equality before the human law, so that every person in all the region poisoned by the influences of slavery and the principles of treason, shall be clothed with all the rights necessary for the fullest and surest self-protection against tyranny, outrage and wrong, and

not left defenceless to the mercy of those who so long exhibited no mercy to the Government they sought to destroy.

"The question naturally arises, how can this be done? Surrounded by these able statesmen, returning here as they do, crowned with an unparalleled popular indorsement, it might not be fitting to anticipate their arguments on these vital themes in the session just opening. But when the Constitution declares, in its opening sentence, that 'all legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States;' when it solemnly enjoins that the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and when it gives to Congress full authority to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution all powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof, the duty and its exercise seem to have been specifically anticipated by the framers of the Supreme Law. Since President Johnson declared in May, 1865, that the rebellion had destroyed all civil government in the rebellious States, Congress has recognized none of the governments established there under the authority of military law, except the rebel-disfranchising government of the State of Tennessee; and it is for Congress to settle the question, under the oaths of its members to support and defend the Constitution, whether such provisional and unrecognized governments, in which those, who have been the bitter enemies of the Republic, are dominant in their executive, legislative and judicial departments—where to have been a soldier of the Union, dead or living, is a reproach—where devotion to the lost cause of treason is

openly avowed and is the guarantee of popular favor—where the colors and the heroes of the rebellion are enthusiastically hailed—and where citizenship is refused to the only people in their midst, who, as a class, have been loyal—are or are not republican forms of government, which it is the duty of the United States to guarantee and protect. Leaving this and kindred questions to those, who will so ably discuss them, can we not all here say, as loyal and patriotic and justice-loving citizens:

"'As for us and for our children,
The vow which we have given,
For justice and humanity,
Is registered in heaven.
No black laws in our borders,
No pirate on our strand,
No traitors in our Congress,
No slave upon our land.'"

CHAPTER XXIX.

ASSEMBLING OF THE FORTIETH CONGRESS—VALEDICTORY FOR THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS—ELECTED SPEAKER OF FORTIETH CONGRESS—INAUGURAL—TESTIMONIALS TO MR. COLFAX AS SPEAKER — B. F. TAYLOR — "HISTORY OF THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS"—THADDEUS STEVENS—EX-GOVERNOR THOMAS, OF MARYLAND—POPULARITY OF MR. COLFAX—ESTIMATE OF ABILITY AND CHARACTER IN CINCINNATI GAZETTE—G. A. TOWNSEND'S GENIAL LETTER—PORTRAIT FROM PUTNAM'S MAGAZINE.

THE Thirty-ninth Congress, which had been fully endorsed in its opposition to the policy of the President by the elections for the Fortieth Congress, fearing to trust the country to the administration of Mr. Johnson during the usual time that intervened between the dissolution of one Congress and the assembling of the Congress succeeding it, passed an act convening the Fortieth Congress, at noon, upon the fourth of March, 1867.

With the following valedictory by the Speaker, the Thirty-ninth Congress was adjourned without day:

VALEDICTORY.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: To be called to this responsible position, by the voluntary choice of my fellow-members, more than fills the measure of an honorable ambition. To be cordially supported by those of all political creeds, amid the exciting scenes so frequent in a body of American legislators, is an evidence of confidence and regard I shall prize to

the latest moment of life. But, to be indorsed by you all, in the resolution you have spread on your journal, and which you adopted with such unusual significance and earnestness, beggars me in words of thanks. To be able to retire from this chair, when laying down its emblem of authority, with none to reproach me, on the one hand, for infidelity to the principles I cherish, and none, on the other, to impugn or deny the rigid impartiality with which I have striven to administer your rules, has been my earnest and daily endeavor in the years that are now garnered with the Past.

"The greatest of my official predecessors, whose memory is still enshrined in so many hearts, and who so eminently honored this chair, declared as the essentials for a Presiding Officer, promptitude and impartiality in deciding the complex questions of order often sprung instantaneously upon him; firmness and thoroughness in his decisions; patience and good temper towards every member; and, above all, to remain cool and unshaken amid the storms of debate, and during those moments of agitation from which no deliberative assembly is exempt; carefully guarding the rules of the House from being sacrificed to temporary passions, prejudices or interests. Never hoping to reach this high standard, it has been ever before my mind, as the sculptor studies the model of the great master of his art, hoping to leave behind him a copy not entirely unworthy of the original.

"Though Death has not spared our circle, and New York, Kentucky and Pennsylvania have been called to mourn the loss of faithful Representatives, we come to this closing hour with our ranks thinned less than usual by paralyzing sickness or wasting disease. We separate,

after months of the conflicts and excitements of an eventful era, with a genial good-will, as gratifying as it is creditable. We can never all meet again. But, as in a distant landscape the eye rests with delight on its beauties, while its defects are thrown into unnoticed shade, may memory, as in after years we review our associations here, bring before us all the pleasures of this companionship in the national service, forgetful of the asperities which should perish with the occasions that evoked them.

"But, as these parting words are said, another Congress wait for our seats; and, with a heart full of gratitude for your unvarying kindness, I declare the House of Representatives of the Thirty-ninth Congress of the United States adjourned without day."

Immediately upon the adjournment of the Thirty-ninth Congress, the clerk commenced calling the roll of the Fortieth Congress. Mr. Colfax was for the third time elected Speaker. Upon taking the chair, he made the following address:

"GENTLEMEN: Elected for the third time to this responsible and trying position, I appreciate more than ever before the importance of this trust, and realize more than when first entering upon its difficult duties the absolute necessity of your confidence and support. Nor do I overrate the gravity of our position as American legislators.

> "'The years have never dropped their sand
> On mortal issue vast and grand
> As ours to-day.'

"A nation decimated by the conflicts of fraternal strife, a land desolated by the destructive marches of

hostile armies, a people with the fruits of prolonged war, ripened into the gloomy harvest of hearts dead with the bullet, as well as hearts heavy with bereavement and broken with anguish, look anxiously, from North and South alike, to this Capital of our continental domain.

"But there is a pathway of duty luminous with light, and by that light should we walk. It is to guide our steps by the justice of God and the rights of man. It is to anchor our legislation, on what the great Commoner of England, John Bright, declares to be the simple but sublime principles, on which great national questions should be settled, the basis of Eternal Right. It is to write on our banner those words that will shine brighter than the stars that gem the firmament—'liberty, loyalty and law.' It is to so make history that posterity shall rise up and call us blessed.

"The Congress, which has just passed away, has written a record, that will be long remembered by the poor and the friendless whom it did not forget. Misrepresented, or misunderstood, by those who denounced it as enemies; harshly and unjustly criticized by some who should have been its friends, it proved itself more faithful to human progress and liberty than any of its predecessors. The outraged and the oppressed found in these Congressional halls champions and friends. Its key-note of policy was, protection to the down-trodden. It quailed not before the mightiest, and neglected not the obscurest. It lifted the slave, whom the nation had freed, up to the full stature of manhood. It placed on our statute-book, the Civil Rights Bill as our national Magna Charta, grander than all the enactments of the American code. And in all the region, whose civil governments

had been destroyed by a vanquished rebellion, it declared as a guarantee of defence to the weakest, that the freeman's hand should wield the freeman's ballot and that none but loyal men should govern a land, which loyal sacrifices had saved. Taught, too, by inspiration that new wine could not be safely put in old bottles, it proclaimed that there could be no safe or loyal reconstruction on a foundation of unrepentant treason or disloyalty.

"Fortunate will it be for us, if, when we surrender these seats to our successors, we can point to a record which will shine on the historic page, like that of the Congress which has just expired. Thrice fortunate if, when we leave this Capitol, our whole national structure shall be permanently restored, resting on the sure foundation-stones of loyalty, unity, liberty and right.

"With such convictions of duty I come to this chair to administer your rules, but not as a partisan. I appeal to you for that generous support by which alone a presiding officer can be sustained, pledging you in return an inflexible impartiality, which shall be proved by my deeds. And, invoking on your deliberations the favor of Him who holds the destinies of nations in the hollow of his hand, I am now ready to take the oath of office prescribed by law."

During Mr. Colfax's first term of service as Speaker, B. F. Taylor, of Chicago, thus wrote of him:

"Master of parliamentary law, acute, accurate, patient, he keeps the legislative deck cleared for action and the good ship steadily under way. He may bring a turbulent member's unruly sentence to the hammer and pound it to pieces, but he does not strike off his own patience with the same blow; his abiding good temper is never going, gone. A matter may be cumbered with all

manner of parliamentary hedges and ditches, but it all seems clear to him as the king's highway. I did not marvel at his rigid impartiality, but his wonderful readiness challenged my admiration. No matter what question in unexpected places might be sprung upon him, it was no sooner asked than answered, as if it was just a part of a play and this was the rehearsal.

"Endurance more than brilliance, is an essential quality of a presiding officer. A man of common nerve will bear a five hours' strain, perhaps, for a single day, but when you add to that a three hours' night watch at the wheel and then repeat that eked-out day till the 'log' runs out to months, and the months make half a year, and if there is no twang to the strings then, no abatement of the natural force, no confusion or impatience, you may conclude, that he is not an 'iron' man, as some would say, but of far better material; as much better as splendid brain and nerves, warmed up with mental life, are, than the iron turned and twisted in the blacksmith's fire.

"Admirably adapted for the delicate and difficult duties of third officer of the Government, he has nobly discharged them, no matter *whom* you remember as having occupied that chair before him."

A historian of the Thirty-ninth Congress has thus written: "In so large a legislative body, composed of so many men of independent thought and action, acknowledging no parliamentary leader, it is remarkable that the wheels of legislation should run so smoothly, and that, after all the disagreement in discussion, great results should at last be harmoniously wrought out. This is partly due to the patriotic spirit which pervaded the minds of its members, inducing them to lay aside minor differences of opinion for the good of that common

country for which their constituents had lately made such tremendous sacrifice. The result is also owing to the parliamentary ability and tact of him who sat patiently and faithfully as Speaker of the House. Deprived by his position of opportunity of taking part in the discussions, which his genius and experience fitted him to illustrate, he, nevertheless, did much to direct the current of legislation which flowed smoothly or turbidly before him."

Thaddeus Stevens, universally recognized and followed as "the leader" of the House for many sessions past, has said of Mr. Colfax: "As Speaker, I believe no abler officer ever presided over a deliberative body." And the same opinion has been publicly expressed by ex-Governor Thomas, of Maryland, a prominent member of Congress in 1835, as he is now, and who has probably witnessed, as a spectator, the presiding of nearly every Speaker for the past forty years.

It is doubtless true that no Speaker has ever been more universally popular. His political opponents have awarded to him the highest praise for *his* impartiality and unswerving justice to them. A despatch, sketching the closing scenes of the first session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, says: "The hall of the House of Representatives and the galleries were crowded with spectators, watching with interest the closing moments of a session that will be memorable in history. The Speaker's valedictory was listened to in deep silence, and as he spoke the last words there was an outburst of applause. *One of the Democratic members,* Mr. Stroud, crying vehemently, 'Three cheers for our noble Speaker!' the call was responded to heartily. Occupying a station full of the most perplexing difficulties, he has filled it with such

rare wisdom and felicity as to challenge the outspoken and warmest admiration of his political adversaries."

When, at the opening of the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Colfax was nominated for Speaker for the third time, it was "amid as enthusiastic and universal clapping of hands as was ever vouchsafed to a public favorite. No partisan demonstration of approbation. Republicans did not cheer more than Democrats, nor women more than men, nor the House more than the galleries. It was a spontaneous and affectionate recognition of a rare personality and a true manhood."

Many pen-portraitures of Mr. Colfax have been given to the press. The following estimate of his character and abilities is given by a Washington correspondent of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, the Rev. Dr. Boynton, Chaplain of the House, under date of February 8th, 1868. It is certainly not overwrought:

"The name of Schuyler Colfax is mentioned in political circles as a probable candidate for high honors. Of course hundreds are studying his character with new interest, and giving their views to the public. This is well in regard to all who are presented to the people for important positions. By combining these partial likenesses, there is formed what may be called a *resultant* picture, which very nearly represents the man. The writer of this is inclined to present his estimate of the Speaker, because he is not satisfied with any of the representations which he has seen of the man, and because he has had some peculiar opportunities for forming an opinion. He boasts of no intimate relations with Mr. Colfax, and private friendship, therefore, does not warp his judgment, while he is not so far removed as to know him only as a public officer.

"During the sessions of the Thirty-ninth Congress, and the Fortieth, thus far, Mr. Colfax has unconsciously given me a daily 'sitting' for his portrait; or rather, I have been sitting a short time, daily, in his presence, to receive a multitude of impressions, which have gradually shaped themselves into a definite opinion.

"The Speaker belongs to that class whose power is invariably underrated, until brought to some severe test. They are regarded as simply good-natured, sunny-faced men, until, on some great occasion, we start to see smiles changed into lightning.

"He is constitutionally affable, from gentlemanly instincts, and on Christian principle he is uniformly courteous. This is his most familiar aspect, and therefore he has been presented to the country as a very prince of good nature and affability, a cheery, sunny man, and we are left to infer, at least, that he is not remarkable for force, breadth and depth of character.

"Truthful as this is in regard to his kindly disposition, it is a total misconception of the man. Many who have only seen the surface of his mind, ask, 'Do you think Mr. Colfax is a great man?'

"The answer will depend upon what we mean by 'a great man.' All greatness is not the same. He has not the same kind of power which distinguished Mr. Webster, or Clay, or Calhoun. They and their type of political greatness belong to an age that has passed away. If they could be brought back *just as they were*, they could not be the leaders of this new era. Their intellectual power, without the deep moral conviction that this age demands, would be out of place in our great conflict, and worse than useless.

"Many, in looking for the first time upon the Thirty-

ninth Congress, said, 'There are no really great men here.' Subsequent reflection changed their opinion, and history will yet record that in every element of real statesmanship, in clear, broad views of human rights and relations, in deep, true moral convictions, in all that constitutes the heroic character, the leaders of the Thirty-ninth Congress were superior to their predecessors; and among them Mr. Colfax was, and is, an acknowledged leader.

"They were men who met firmly the shock of the most formidable rebellion of modern times, and crushed it; and then, against the whole power of the Executive, and a great party at the North, and the reinspirited rebels, conceived and executed a safe plan for restoring the South and reuniting the country. Men capable of this are great men. Now, the question of the capacity of Mr. Colfax is best answered by the fact, that, for three consecutive Congressional terms, and while the greatest questions ever presented to American statesmen were being discussed, in a time of extreme peril, these strong men invited him to preside over them, guide their deliberations, and wield the great power of the Speaker, when any grave mistake would have imperilled their party and the country.

"Many of the strong men in the House could do, perhaps, each in his own sphere, what the Speaker could not; but in the administrative ability needed in his high position, in the power to so guide the great mental forces of the House as to reach a result, in the faculty of seeing at a glance the true aspect of a difficult case, and of prompt decision in that 'tact,' which means an intuitive perception of what is needed, and how it can be done, Mr. Colfax has no superior among our public men, in the House or elsewhere.

"Standing on the front line of principle, he seems not disposed to attempt all right things at once, but with the eye fixed on the ultimate goal, asks what is practicable *now*. His convictions rest on a firm moral and religious basis, and therefore he is not likely to change. He is one of the best living representatives of the true American type of mind, thoroughly practical, working right on to definite ends with great executive force, power of endurance, and an unwearied attention to the details of business. In any higher position, he would be dealing still with the same questions with which he is already familiar; he would be associated with the same men over whose deliberations he has presided so long; and he would bring to the conduct of affairs the same clear perceptions, the same power of prompt decision, the same exquisite tact and firmness that have distinguished him as Speaker; and whether this kind of greatness is needed by the country now, each must decide for himself."

A Washington letter from G. A. Townsend to the Cleveland *Leader* contains this genial picture:

"In what he called his 'den,' I found Schuyler Colfax, some days ago; a little closet-room, lighted by one basement window under the Capitol. It was a curiosity shop of manuscript and documents, order reigning through superficial confusion. Here the Speaker hides himself away from pages and harpies, and works unassistedly at his speeches and his correspondence, the latter of itself a drudgery as great and exciting as any accountant's.

"But a lighthouse never grows old; after a hundred years its flame is as youthful as when it began. The

pure, unaffected, radiant cheerfulness of Mr. Colfax keeps him as rosy and hopeful as a boy. Here he sits, smoking his cigar, surprised in the midst of a smile, for all his thoughts are good companions.

"I took a seat before him, and while he answered some questions I had brought, I tried to make out his face and character—a very difficult type were both of them, for a country of which the Speaker is so representative, and yet of a temperament so uncommon.

"We are a sober-minded people with lines of thrift and anxiety in our faces, like the marks of whip and burden. We go to law and go to church with the same countenances. We want to make money fast, and on the way and after the end we have remorses, aches, wounded self-esteems, asceticisms. The air, the soil, the worry and the hurry of American life provincialize the American into a hard, repellant, dreadfully over-earnest man, with a skin, a stomach, and a soul equally dyspeptic.

"Out of this population a face grows, now and then, like a clover-head out of a stock-yard, all freshness and color, and quick to feel the earliest breezes. This is Mr. Colfax. His life is perennial hopefulness, having a good conscience for its compass, and for its ballast a temperament that is equal as an hour-glass. Full of the elasticity of the Empire City, a widow's son, born forty-five years ago, with a parentage reaching back on one side to the Schuylers, on the other to an officer of Washington's body guard. At ten years of age his schooling ceased and he had found a new father. At thirteen he quitted New York and his step-father's store for a home in Indiana. At twenty-two he was an editor, twelve hundred dollars in debt. At thirty he was a Congressman,

as he has been ever since, and three times elected Speaker of the House, the third position in the nation. At the base of this successful career we find neither wealth, chicanery, nor patronage, but good citizenship, faithful public services, steadfast self-respect, and a cheerful temper. It is a quiet career of success under Republican institutions, with steady talents, quick perceptions, and excellent confidence. His model in the State has been Henry Clay, whose manners were like his own, and he confesses to have modelled his Speakership upon Clay's career as Speaker of the House. 'Never hoping,' he says, 'to reach this high standard, it has ever been before my mind, as the sculptor studies the model of the Great Master of his art.'

"Mr. Colfax is a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, and total abstinence is one of his private principles. He is a smoker, however, and a loving traveller by foot and stage. His oratory is fervid and florid together, and has served his party handsomely in trying times, while his judgment is guarded, yet decisive as his mode of speech.

"He first announced the Republican platform after the breach with Mr. Johnson, thus:

"'Let us make haste slowly, and we can then hope that the foundations of our Government, when thus reconstructed on the basis of indisputable loyalty, will be as eternal as the stars.'

"In short, this is Mr. Colfax:

> "'The clear,
> Persuasive orator of right; the pure,
> Unsullied patriot; the changeless, sure,
> And genial friend, to many hearts how dear!'"

Another portraiture from Putnam's Magazine reveals still other features of his character:

"Without being educated as a scholar, industrious reading has given him much of what is valuable in scholarship unalloyed by its pedantry, its clannishness, or its egotism. Without being bred a lawyer, practical familiarity with legislation has taught him all that is most valuable in law, freed from the conservatism and inaptitude for change and reform, which rest like an incubus on so many of those minds which are bred by the habits of the legal profession to look for precedents which show what the law has been, rather than to broad principles which settle what the law ought to be. Yet Mr. Colfax has frequently shown the happiest familiarity with precedents, especially in questions of parliamentary practice. As a presiding officer he is the most popular the House has had since Henry Clay. His marvellous quickness of thought, and talent for the rapid administration of details, enables him to hold the reins of the House of Representatives, even in its most boisterous and turbulent moods, (and, with the exception of the New York Board of Brokers, the British House of Commons, or a fair at Donnybrook, it is the most uproarious body in the world,) with as much grace and ease as Mr. Bonner would show the paces of Dexter in Central Park, or as Gottschalk would thread the keys of a piano, in a dreamy maze of faultless, quivering melody. As an orator, Mr. Colfax is not argumentative, except as clear statement and sound judgment are convincing. He rides no erratic hobbies. He demands few policies which the average sense of intelligent men cannot be made to assent to on a clear statement of his position. He is eminently representative. A glance at his broad, well-balanced, practical brain, indicates that

his leading faculty is the sum of all the faculties—judgment; and that what he believes, the majority of the people either believe or can be made to believe. Some men may be further ahead of the age. Mr. Colfax finds sufficient occupation and usefulness in adapting himself to times and things as they are, without cutting his throat with paradoxes, or stealing a march on mankind with some new light, which they are very like to regard as a 'will-o'-the-wisp.' He has no eccentricities, but great tact. His talents are administrative and executive rather than deliberative. He would make good appointments and adopt sure policies. He would make a better President or Speaker of the House, than Senator. He knows men well, estimates them correctly, treats them all candidly and fairly. No man will get through his business with you in fewer minutes, and yet none is more free from the horrid *brusqueness* of busy men. There are heart and kindness in Mr. Colfax's politeness. Men leave his presence with the impression that he is at once an able, honest and kind man. Political opponents like him personally, as well as his political friends. We have never heard that he has any enemies. The breath of slander has been silent toward his fair, spotless fame. The wife of his youth, after being for a long time an invalid, sank to her final rest several years ago, leaving him childless. His mother and sister preside at his receptions, which for many years have been, not the most brilliant, but the most popular of any given at the Capital. Socially, Mr. Colfax is frank, lively and jolly. The everlasting I-hood and Us-ness of great men is forgotten in his presence. His manners are not quite so familiar as those of Lincoln, but nearly so. They are gentle, natural, graceful, with a bird-like or business-like quickness of thought and motion."

CHAPTER XXX.

SPEECH OF MR. COLFAX BEFORE THE UNION LEAGUE OF NEW YORK—SERENADE SPEECH AT WASHINGTON UPON JULY ADJOURNMENT OF FORTIETH CONGRESS.

On the 7th of May, 1867, Mr. Colfax addressed the Union League of New York city. The following extracts are from his speech on that occasion:

"We scarcely realize how rapidly and yet gloriously we are making history; but posterity will read it on the open pages of our country's annals. *Six years ago*—how brief it seems! but a fraction of an individual's life—but a breath in the life of a nation—the banner of rebellion waved over hostile armies and stolen forts from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, and the on-looking world predicted the certain downfall of the Republic. Now, thanks to our gallant armies and their gallant commanders—Grant, the inflexible—Sherman, the conqueror—Sheridan, the invincible—and all their fearless compatriots on sea and shore—but one flag waves over the land—the flag that Washington loved, and that Jackson and Scott, and Taylor adorned with their brilliant victories—the flag dearer to us in all its hours of peril than when gilded by the sunshine of prosperity and fanned by the zephyrs of peace—at last triumphant, unquestioned, unassailed. Six years ago, millions of human beings born on American soil, created by the same Divine Father, destined to the same eternal Hereafter, were sold like cattle, and our escutcheon was dimmed and dishonored by the stain of American Slavery. *To-day*, auction-blocks, and manacles, and whipping-posts are, thank God, things of the past, while the slave

himself has become the citizen, with the freedman's weapon of protection—the ballot in his own right hand. Nor can we forget, while rejoicing over this happy contrast, the human agencies so potential in its accomplishment. First and conspicuous among the rest rises before my mind the tall form of a martyred President, whose welcome step no mortal ear shall ever listen to again. Faithful to his oath, faithful to his country, faithful to the brave armies his word called to the field, he never swerved a hair's breadth from his determination to crush this mighty rebellion, and all that gave it aid, and comfort, and support. Unjustly and bitterly denounced by his enemies, and yours, as an usurper and despot; compared to Nero and Caligula, and all other tyrants whose base deeds blacken the pages of history, your noble League stood by him amid this tempest of detraction, cordially and to the end; and you have now your abundant vindication and reward.

"Again, when in the very crisis of the nation's agonies, he struck with the might of the war-power against slavery as the cause of all our woes, you stood by him, upholding his hands and strengthening him in that eventful conflict. Enemies assailed you with epithet and invective: you were called negro worshippers, fanatics and radicals. But on the stump, at the polls, and in Congress, we all faced the issue fearlessly and the world-accursed system went down forever and forever. No thanks to our opponents for this beneficent consummation. But now, our enemies being our judges, how magnificently are we endorsed? Who dares now to wag his tongue against it? Who repeats the slanders heaped upon you but yesterday? Not one. Not one. Yours was the contest; you bore the opprobrium, and

yours is the victory. And your children and your children's children will rise up to call you blessed, because you dared, despite the wrath of traitors South, and the invectives of your opponents North, to destroy this giant wrong, from turret to foundation stone, even amid the agonies and throes of civil war, and to crush it out from this fair land forever.

"But other duties to the country yet remained to be performed; and you, and those who thought with you, girded your loins for the work. The Thirty-ninth Congress, the noblest and most patriotic body of men I have ever seen assembled at the Capitol during my dozen years of public service, wisely rejecting the ill-advised policy of an Executive whose highest ambition and desire seemed to have been to destroy the party that had elevated him to power, proposed a Constitutional amendment, embodying great principles, that they deemed should be imbedded irreversibly in the National Constitution, as fitting guarantees for loyal reconstruction. Although indorsed overwhelmingly by the loyal States at the ballot-box, the rebel States, hardening their hearts, spurned and rejected it, and scoffed at its framers and endorsers. And then guided, as I believe, by the same Providence which gave our armies victory after victory as soon as the nation had written 'liberty for all' on our banners, Congress enacted the Military Reconstruction bills of March second and March twenty-fourth, opening the ballot-boxes to the loyal, regardless of color, disfranchising for the present the leaders of the rebellion, and laying down the terms, and the only terms on which the rights forfeited by this bloody war could be resumed. And this firmness and devotion to the right is bringing forth its legitimate fruit. With an alac-

rity unexpected to many, and with an acquiescence expected but by few, the vast majority in the South are ignoring their life-long prejudices, and hastening to accept these terms. Nor need I say to you that having carefully elaborated these laws, having passed them and then repassed them over the inevitable veto of the Executive, the great party which has thus become responsible for them, intend to stand by them faithfully and literally, if their terms are complied with by the rebel States in good faith and without evasion. They would be branded with dishonor, and their fame tarnished forever, if they did not. But it is a party whose plighted word to the people has never been broken, and will not be now. I regret, indeed, that Mr. Sumner's amendment, requiring provisions in the new Constitutions for universal education as a condition of reconstruction, did not prevail, but I hope the good sense of the Southern people will establish it voluntarily, insuring them a warmer welcome as they return to the council board. I cannot omit, in passing, to state that one of the essentials of the reconstruction policy is the election of Congressmen, who can honestly and truthfully take the oath required by law. We should have been faithless, and worthy of the slow, unmoving finger of scorn, if this essential had not been insisted on inflexibly. When the waves of treason swept over all that region, there were a faithful few who refused to yield to Secession. Branded as traitors to the Confederacy because they would not surrender their birthright, they never swerved from their allegiance. Punished by confiscation and robbery, and threatened with outrage and death, they never faltered; and when they could no longer live peaceably at their homes, they fled to the mountains, the

caves, and the swamps, and said, 'Welcome confiscation, robbery, exile or death; but we stand by the stars and stripes to the last drop of our blood, and the last beat of our hearts.' God bless these faithful Union men. They are to lead back these States, clad in new robes of liberty and justice.

"I cannot doubt the future of the great party which has won these triumphs and established these principles. It has been so brilliantly successful, because it recognized liberty and justice as its cardinal principles; and because, scorning all prejudices and defying all opprobrium, it allied itself to the cause of the humble and the oppressed. It sought to enfranchise, not to enchain; to elevate, not to tread down; to protect, never to abase. It cared for the humblest rather than for the mightiest—for the weakest rather than the strongest. It recognized that the glory of States and Nations was justice to the poorest and feeblest. And another secret of its wondrous strength was that it fully adopted the striking injunction of our murdered chief: 'With malice toward none, with charity for all, but with firmness for the right, as God gives us to see the right.' Only last month the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, D'Israeli, in defending his Reform Bill, exclaimed: 'This is a nation of classes, and must remain so.' If I may be pardoned for replying, I would say: 'This is a nation of *freemen*, and must remain so.' Faithful to the traditions of our fathers in sympathizing with all who long for the maintenance or advancement of liberty in Mexico or England, in Ireland or Crete, and yet carefully avoiding all entangling alliances or violations of the law, with a recognition from ocean to ocean, North and South alike, of the right of all citizens bound by the law to share in the choice of

the law-maker, and thus to have a voice in the country their heart's blood must defend, our centennial anniversary of the Declaration of Independence will find us, as an entire nation, recognizing the great truths of that immortal Instrument, enjoying a fame, wide as the world and eternal as the stars.

Upon the adjournment of the July session of the Fortieth Congress, Mr. Colfax was serenaded, and, in his speech upon the occasion, made the following remarks concerning the course of the President and the action of Congress:

"FELLOW-CITIZENS: There are two kinds of serenades in Washington: the first, when members arrive to enter upon the discharge of their duties; and the last, when, after the close of their labors, they are about to return to their homes. As Holy Writ declares that he who taketh off his armor has more right to be proud than he who putteth it on, I value this mark of your regard more highly, because, our work being completed, you mean by it, 'Well done, good and faithful servants.' Congress sincerely desired to avoid this midsummer session. They passed the military reconstruction bills last March. The President vetoed them, on the explicit ground that they made the military commanders supreme and absolute over the people of the late rebellious States. Congress accepted his construction of them, and repassed them over his veto. They were cordially endorsed by the loyal people of the North, and acquiesced in more readily than had been supposed by the people of the South. Soon it became apparent that, under them, loyalty would triumph in most of the Southern States, and then the President vetoed his own veto, and promulgated a decision of his Attorney-General, that, under

these laws, the military commanders were mere policemen, subordinate to the provisional Governments over which they had been placed; the army but a *posse comitatus* to enforce the decrees of the rebel Governors and Mayors; and that every rebel was to be his own register. The people, surprised at these decisions, appealed to the Congress, in which they placed such deserved confidence, to reassemble; and from Maine to California they came hither to resume their legislative authority, and to so declare the meaning of their legislation that no legal sophistries of any Attorney-General could mystify it. Vetoed again, they repassed it by a vote of four to one, and it has gone on the statute-book as one of the laws which the President, by his Constitutional oath, must 'take care to have faithfully executed.' Some, I know, condemn Congress for having done too much in its past legislation, and some, for having done too little; but I think it has struck the golden mean—firm and yet prudent, courageous without undue excitement, inflexible and yet wise."

CHAPTER XXXI.

FALL ELECTIONS OF 1867—SPEECH OF MR. COLFAX AT COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK.

THE fall election of 1867 in the State of Indiana was of comparatively little importance. In several other States, however, there were important elections, the issues of which would largely influence national inter-

ests. Mr. Colfax took part in these important campaigns, making speeches in several different States. On the evening of the 27th of October, he spoke in the hall of the Cooper Institute. Of this speech, Mr. Greeley has said that it was the ablest speech made in New York city since Lincoln's Cooper Institute speech, in 1860.

The large hall was crowded. The stand was occupied by prominent citizens, many of them representing distant States. Mr. Charles S. Spencer, Chairman of the Union Republican Central Committee, introduced the speaker, who was greeted with enthusiastic cheering.

SPEECH OF MR. COLFAX.

"Now, my friends, three cheers for what is better than any man—for men are but ciphers compared to the great principles for which they stand—three cheers for that principle consecrated by the blood of our soldiers upon the battle-field, and enshrined in the legislation of the American Congress—that loyal men shall rule the States that loyal sacrifice has saved. [Immense cheering.] Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I thank you with a grateful heart for the kind manner in which you have welcomed me this evening so enthusiastically to the stand. You have done so, I trust, to show that in your hearts you believe that I have been faithful to principle. [Applause.] I come before you to-night, from my distant home, to vindicate and to defend the principles and the policy of that noble Union Republican organization, which alone, of all other parties in this broad land, from the hour that the first gun was fired on Sumter until the last rebel sword flashed before Richmond, never despaired of the American Republic. [Applause.] Its past is crowned with the glory of having saved this

Union from the menaces of the sword of treason. When I make this statement so broadly, I may be met by some Democrat in this audience with a direct denial of it, but I shall prove it in a single sentence to his satisfaction, as well as to yours; and I ask you if you could, by any possibility, blot out of existence from the winter of 1860–61 the whole Republican party, so that there should have been no Republicans in power in the Executive Department, none in Congress, none at the polls, and that the destinies of this nation had been reposed exclusively in the hands of those men who shouted by their leaders all over the land, 'no coercion,' when the sword of treason was drawn to sunder the Union, where would the country be to-day? Saved, as I have said, by this noble Republican organization, by their fidelity and patriotism in the hour of trial. I know that the unfaltering heroism of our soldiers on every battle-field upon the land, and our sailors on every wave-rocked monitor and frigate upon the sea, gave to us our victories, lifting us from every valley of disaster and reverse, and planting our feet upon the sun-crowned heights of victory. [Applause.] But it was the action of the Union Republican party in the Congress of the United States that placed that army in the field. It was organized by law, it was armed and equipped by law, it was fed and clothed by law, it was supplied by law, re-enforced by law; and when the time came that this party had to meet, in the face of the defeats of 1862, the odium of tax laws, that the banner might be kept flying in the field, and the draft laws, that our ranks might be kept full, we went forward faithfully and fearlessly, defying all prejudice, and placed those laws upon our statute-books, that through them the country might live, and not die. [Applause.]

"You must all remember that in the palmy days of the Democratic party, when Democracy meant something else beside sympathy with treason or apologies for its leaders—they emblazoned upon their banners and proclaimed through the mouths of their statesmen, 'indemnity for the past and security for the future.' I know right well we cannot obtain indemnity for the past, nor have we asked it. You cannot go down to those cannon-furrowed battle-fields, and prison-camps, and unmarked graves, and breathe the breath of life into the bodies of your dead soldiers there. You cannot return to father and mother their first-born, for whom they sorrow and will not be comforted, because they are not. You cannot give back to the widow the husband who was robbed from her, that by his death the Republic might live. You cannot return to this army of a million of orphans in this land, every one of them made orphans by rebel bullets, the fathers to guide their infant steps in the paths of usefulness and virtue. I know right well this cannot be done. It is impossible. The soldiers of the Union sleep the sleep that knows no waking. The whole South is filled with graves where sleep those martyrs of constitutional liberty till the resurrection morn. On Shiloh's bloody field and Carolina's sandy shore, on snow-crowned Kenesaw and the rocky hills of Gettysburg, before the blood-drenched forts of Richmond and of Vicksburg, and where they fell fighting above the clouds on Lookout Mountain, they sleep the warrior's sleep, never, never again to fight for country or for home. But their silent yet impressive dust speaks to us that, as they gave their heart's blood and their lives to crush the power of treason in this country, you shall not by your ballots return to those rebels the misused power

they wrested from their hands. [Great applause.] If you can do it, if you will do it, you are not worthy of the millionth part of the precious blood that flowed like water to save your country from the menacing sword of treason. [Applause.] But though we demand no indemnity for the past, no banishment, no confiscations, no penalties for the offended law, there is one thing we do demand, there is one thing, thank God! we have the power to demand, and that is security for the future, [applause,] and that, God helping us, we intend to have, [hear, hear,] not only in legislation, but imbedded in the imperishable bulwarks of our national Constitution, against which the waves of secession may dash in the future, but in vain. [Applause.] We intend to have those States reconstructed on such enduring corner-stones that posterity shall realize that our fallen heroes have not died in vain. Into whose hands should this work be placed? In the hands of the enemies of the country? in the hands of the men who laid their arms around the pillars of your temple of liberty, seeking to whelm us with themselves in a common ruin? No, oh, no! I do not know what voice New York may utter in this impending State struggle, but I can tell you for myself and the fellow-members who have formed this inflexible Republican party in the Fortieth Congress, we intend to stand until the very last hour of its existence, [great applause,] through evil or through good report, as bravely as when your soldiers followed the flag when reverses had come upon them, and followed it to new victories that blotted out the memories of those reverses; we intend to stand as firmly as the eternal hills until the fourth of March, 1869—[great applause.] You cut off the end of that sentence by your applause, but you knew

what was coming. [Laughter.] But, as we have stood thus patriotically, as I believe, thus fearlessly and justly in the pathway of right, we have been met by all kinds of invective and opprobrium. Years ago they sought to overwhelm us with the epithet of Abolitionist, and they shouted it at us all over the land, pointing the finger of scorn at us as Abolitionists. We took the name which they sought to make one of reproof, and we made it the synonyme of glory throughout the Republic, and there is not a man to-day in the land who shared with us in the glory of ridding the Republic of 'the sum of all villanies' whose heart does not throb with exultation at the thought. Then they called us Black Republicans. Well, they have got a good many more of them down South than they relish to-day. [Laughter.] Now they have a new epithet for us. It is Radical. They think that will finish the chapter. [Laughter.] Well, I never call them by that name which has almost passed into political nomenclature—Copperhead. I call them Democrats, upon the principle that you always call the child by the name its mother gave it, although I consider it rather inappropriate, and my conscience rather smites me when I do so. But whenever they call me Radical, I answer that I would rather be called a Radical than a Rebel. [Laughter.] And I am a Radical, from the crown of my head to the sole of my feet. [Applause.] Radical for right and against the wrong; Radical for justice and against injustice; Radical for liberty and against slavery; Radical for loyalty and against disloyalty; a Radical friend of every defender of my country, and a Radical opponent of every enemy of my native land. [Applause.]

"But what is this policy that our opponents so bitterly condemn and denounce? Let me show you to-night;

let me prove to you, as I shall prove, that there is no party in this country that has so earnestly longed and labored for peace and rest as this Republican party. We are anxious to end this turmoil; we are anxious to have Reconstruction an accomplished fact; we are anxious to welcome back the old States around the council table of the nation; but we are anxious to have it done on right terms, on just terms, on terms under which every Union man throughout the entire South, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, can stand up and say he loves the flag and loves the Union, without fear or reproach, or dishonor, or ostracism, and we will take no less. We are and have been ready to admit them immediately upon just terms. Our opponents have been in favor of reconstruction upon no terms at all. Now, what did we do? The very first Congress, nay more, the very first session of the very first Congress that met after the surrender of Lee, that is, the first session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, defined and proposed its plan of reconstruction. What was it? A constitutional amendment, which has been explained and vindicated before you many times during the last canvass, by able and eloquent speakers, and I will not take up your time now by repeating their arguments. It was a bond of public justice and public safety combined, to be embodied in our national Constitution, to show to our posterity that patriotism was a virtue, and rebellion was a crime. And those terms were more magnanimous than any that were ever offered in any country under like circumstances. You remember the first section of it. It provided that every one born upon our soil, or naturalized in our courts, should be entitled to enjoy all the rights of citizenship—the right to make

contracts, the right to receive wages, the right to testify, so that wrongs may be redressed, and the constitutional right to sue, as you know you have the constitutional right to be sued. [Laughter.] It said nothing about political rights at all, but it simply proposed to guarantee the civil rights of citizenship to every person born under the flag, and all who come from foreign lands to enjoy civil and religious liberty here. The second section provided that every State should have representation in Congress as those who shared in the election of Representatives, no more, no less. So that every voter in New York and Texas, in Indiana and Florida, should count just one in the scale of political power, in making laws and in choosing electors of President. But, not satisfied with enjoying power on three-fifths of their slaves, they demanded power on all of them, as they were now all free persons, and thus to have increased power on account of the rebellion and its results. The third section provided that those persons who, having held office under the Government, or a State, had taken an oath to maintain the Constitution, and had added the crime of perjury to that of treason, should not be allowed to 'swear again' until Congress, by a two-thirds vote, relieved them of this disability. And the fourth section provided that the National debt should be inviolate, that the Rebel debt should be repudiated, and that no one should ever be paid out of your taxes any compensation for the emancipation of slaves. What was there unjust—what was there wrong in these provisions? They were kind; they were forbearing; they were magnanimous; they were less than we had a right to demand; but in our anxiety, in our desire, to close up this question, we proposed it to them. How

was it received? It was scouted, kicked out of every Legislature in every State of the South which had been reconstructed under the unwise policy of Andrew Johnson. In all the Legislatures of the South you could not find six men that voted for this constitutional amendment; in some States one, in some States none at all. They trampled upon it; they spat upon it; they repudiated it, and said they would have nothing to do with it. Do you know why it was? Because they determined to have more power after the rebellion than they had before. Before, they demanded that they should have power for three-fifths of their slaves, and not allow them to vote; now, they wanted power for their emancipated slaves. [Cries of 'Never! never!'] Then, when this was repudiated we came together again at the second session of the same Congress to devise some other plan of reconstruction in place of the proffer that had been spurned. Now, when we came to this point we found we had four ways before us. We could, in the first place, have provided by law that voting should be confined solely to the loyal whites of the South, but this would have excluded nine-tenths of the white population that had been swept into the maelstrom of treason. This was the basis on which Lincoln proposed to reconstruct the South when he said *that* he was in favor of the readmission of any State whereof one-tenth of the people were loyal. But the Democrats had denounced this, because it would be placing the power in the hands of a minority, and it was thus condemned in advance. Then again we could have reconstructed upon the basis of all the loyal freemen in these States, and the loyal alone. What would have been the result of that plan? It would have made the States a great deal

blacker than they are. For, though these blacks have been sold, under the flag, like the swine of the sty, or the beasts of the field, their families torn from them, never again to meet until at the judgment bar of the Almighty, if you have here a Democratic soldier, a man who has been South with Sherman to the sea, he will tell you that when he saw a black face he saw a friend; and there was not a man fleeing from the horrors of Andersonville, the groans of which echoed around the civilized world, and filled it with horror, who, if he saw a white man on the road, did not hide in the swamp, but, if he saw a black man, boldly went to him, and found that he would share with him his humble cabin, divide with him his crust, and even at the risk of being hung for it by his master, point out to him the right road to the camp where the Stars and Stripes would insure his security. The third plan was Mr. Johnson's giving the power to the rebel element in the South, which I need not discuss. There was a fourth plan we could have adopted. That I come before you to vindicate and defend. We made the basis of our reconstruction, first, every loyal man in the South, and then (and I am going to state this pretty sharply to you, too) we gave the ballot also to every man who had *only* been a rebel. The persons we excluded for the present from the suffrage in the South were not the hundreds and thousands of men who fought in the rebel army, not the millions of men who had given their adhesion to it, but only those men who had sworn allegiance to the Constitution and then added to treason the crime of perjury. I shall prove this to you from the Constitution of the United States. I have it here—not one of the copies that our distinguished President, Andrew John-

son, left when he was swinging around the circle. [Laughter.] I would not risk his copy, because he reads his, apparently, with rebel spectacles. [Here he quoted from the second article of the Constitution of the United States.] Those are all the persons that we excluded in the military bills. It is true, in Virginia for instance, they had, in defiance of that law, which is the supreme law of the land, allowed some of their officers to hold office without swearing to support the Constitution. We excluded only those persons named in the Constitution of the United States as being required to take an oath to support it. Well, they said they would not register at all, and that if they did register they would vote against the convention. Now, I say they can do just exactly as they please. [Applause.] The door was opened to them by Congress. We said to those men who had only been rebels, and who had not been perjured also, 'You may share in this work of reconstruction if you see fit. If you see fit to register, do so.' Upon them rests the responsibility, not upon us. I will tell you the result. In 1862 there was a succession of Democratic victories, and you will remember that they inspired with hope these rebels in the South. They prolonged the conflict, but the terms they obtained in 1865 were not so good as they could have obtained in 1862. They leaned upon those Democratic victories of 1862, which were their hope all through from the time they drew the sword. Now when they see these apparent Democratic victories of this year, they are encouraged again, and I think they may vote down reconstruction in three States—Alabama, Arkansas, and Texas, and when they do it, we shall, as Providence perhaps intended, at the Presidential election have the sharp, direct issue before

the people of the country, 'Will you have rebel governments in these States, or will you have governments resting upon the great mass of the people?' and I am not afraid of the decision. [Applause.]

"One thing we have determined upon, one thing we shall stand inflexibly for, and that is that these States shall return to the old council-board of the Republic, that they made such haste to leave six years ago, led by the faithful Union men who refused to bow the knee to Baal during all that conflict. [Applause.] There were some men there, faithful men, fearless men, when the storm swept over that land, and when the assemblage at Richmond, calling itself the Confederate Congress, passed laws declaring that any man who would not swear allegiance to the flag and the Constitution of the Confederacy, should be regarded as a traitor, and punished with imprisonment and confiscation. When prisons yawned for them, and when they saw their comrades hung by the neck until they were dead, they said: 'Welcome confiscation, welcome imprisonment, welcome death, but we stand by the Stars and Stripes to the last drop of our blood and the last beat of our hearts.' God bless those faithful Southern men. They come up out of the furnace of treason with none of its fires upon their garments. They were true among the false; they were patriots among traitors; they were loyal among the disloyal. If I ever surrender them—if I should ever in any infatuation that would be insanity—as a representative in the American Congress, deliver them to the power of the men who would wreak the vengeance on them they failed to wreak on this country, may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and my hand fall nerveless at my side. [Applause.] If you are will-

ing to yield them up because they would not sell their priceless birthright and surrender their allegiance, then throughout all Time the finger of scorn of the whole World should be pointed at you. But I know you will not do it. We are sometimes told by these men as they go up and down the highways and by-ways of the country, pleading, as they did, for the rebel cause during the war, that we must have larger and more forgiving hearts. We have had the story of the prodigal son recited to us in the West, and we are told that we ought to follow that example. Well, I learned the parable at my mother's knee, and I believe in the lesson it teaches. But if the prodigal son had striven to murder his father and brother, and on leaving it had set fire to the roof that had sheltered and protected him—if after all this he had returned to the door-sill and insolently said: 'Give me back my rights, restore me again to my portion of the inheritance without condition, absolutely and at once, I do not believe that there would have been much veal eaten in that household that night. [Long continued applause and laughter.] I think that calf would have lived to this very day. [Applause.] But the prodigal son came back humbled; he came back asking forgiveness, and the heart of the father warmed toward him. He went out and met him and embraced him; he placed the ring upon his finger, and the fatted calf was killed. Did they come back in this way? Did a single rebel army ever surrender voluntarily? Did a single rebel State ever come back voluntarily? Did a single rebel statesman return to our council-halls and acknowledge his error and his crime? Not one. They kept on fighting, month after month, and year after year, putting more armies in the field, and filling the land

with bloodshed, carnage, and desolation, until they redeemed the pledge that they made at the outset, that they would fight on to the very last ditch. And so they did. They fought until they had no more men, and no more money, and no more resources, and then the gallant soldiers under Sheridan, Grant, and Thomas [cheers]—I ought to have named General Grant first [cheers and laughter,] because of all the men to whom we owe credit for the salvation of our land, there is none that is his equal or his superior. [Loud cheers.] He combined the inflexible pertinacity of Wellington with the brilliant dash of Napoleon; and it can be said of him, as of one in our olden time, that his modesty is only equalled by his merit. [Thunders of applause.] But the gallant soldiers following these brave chieftains tumbled them into the last ditch, tore their weapons from their hands, and compelled them to surrender: no thanks to them for what they could not prevent. [Cheers.] I can forgive when these men appeal to me with their cries of forgiveness. I say that my heart is large enough to forgive these men, whose crime I have described—these men who have murdered my constituents and my own friends on the battle-fields—these men whose hands and skirts are still red with the blood of the faithful soldiers of the Union. But there is one thing I will not do; there is one thing before God, I say it reverently, I cannot, and dare not do, and that is to put the dagger of power back again into their hands, with which they can strike once more, as they struck for four years, at my nation's heart and my nation's life. Never, no, never! [Cheers.] I want to see some return of love for the Union first; I want to see some affection for the old flag; I want to see some sorrow for crime. Nay, more;

let me imagine, if possible, that by some delusion the people of the United States should apparently consent to abandon Congress, which dared to stand between those men and the inner sanctuary of the nation's life, they sought to enter with unrepentant love for their 'lost cause.' When they came up and demanded the right to make laws for the men they had failed to kill and for the widows and orphans of the men they had slain on hundreds of fields of battle—and for refusing which we have been denounced—what would have been the result had we consented? Let us look at it. What would have been the result in eleven States of the South? Look at Kentucky, as the model after which they would be fashioned, where devotion to the Confederacy is the sure passport to official position; where to have been loyal to the Union is to be covered with reproach, and exposed to outrage by mobs and by regulators. You would have had eleven States where Rebels would hold the supreme power. And that is not the worst. You would have had freedmen virtually re-enslaved by their revived labor and vagrant laws. And that is not the worst, disgraceful as that would have been to the nation. You would have had every loyal white man in fear of his life. And that is not the worst, bad as that would be. If England or France, or the allied powers of Europe should for any cause declare war against us, to blot us out as a nation from the map of the world, and should send their fleets and their armies here, the power of those eleven States could be given to help our enemies, for they could seize the golden opportunity to establish their Confederacy with the aid they could thus command from abroad. That would have been the result. But it is not to be. ['No! no!'] It is not to be, because the

people of this country are going to stand by the doctrines that we have maintained.

"Before discussing the acts of the President of the United States, I wish to say something about these elections. Our opponents have been firing some cannon lately. They haven't had any thing to fire cannon over for several years. They didn't fire any over Gettysburg; they didn't fire any over Vicksburg. I believe your Mayor didn't think it was wise even to illuminate over Union victories. It might stir up some 'unpleasantness.' Some people didn't see so much in those victories to rejoice over. They didn't fire cannon over the downfall of the rebellion; but they found occasion at last to rejoice in their way. They didn't fire them over our victories in Indiana, because in the part of that State where I live we increased our Republican majorities. [Applause.] They fired their cannon very hastily, and after they had paid the expenses of the powder, they looked around to see what they had been firing over, and to count the profit and loss; and they found they had been firing over the election of a Republican Legislature in Pennsylvania. [Cheers.] They found they had been firing over the fact that in the only Congressional district of Pennsylvania where a Congressman was to be elected they had lost one thousand five hundred of their majority of last year. [Cheers.] They found that they had fired over the election of a Republican State ticket in the State of Ohio. They fired over the election of a Republican Governor in Iowa by twelve thousand increased majority over that received by his predecessor—the last Governor elected having had sixteen thousand majority, and the Governor now elected having twenty-eight thousand majority. [Cheers.] But I will tell

you what they did really fire over. It is this: That a majority of the people of Ohio had, by an apportionment made by Democrats, elected a majority of the Legislature of that State. Rather poor results to fire over, wasn't it? Well, I have often thought that it was not wise for an army, more than a party, to have a constant succession of victories. If they did, they might draw in their outposts, withdraw their pickets, quarrel among themselves, and incur the danger and the defeat of a surprise by the enemy. It is wise once in a while to have a little discipline like this. It has the effect to show us the dangers that threaten us, and to compact us into an irresistible mass. The victories of the Democratic party in 1862, when they carried this country from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, after the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, when they carried New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, by a majority of 65,000 votes, with two-thirds of all their Congressmen elected, caused them to shout with joy, and say, 'Emancipation is dead and buried!' Oh, no! This Republican party, in spite of this reverse, stood by it faithfully, fearlessly, because it was right; and in 1864 Emancipation triumphed; and the Emancipator himself was reëlected by an overwhelming majority. [Cheers.] I have never turned aside to contemplate which was the popular, or which was the unpopular side of a question. I would rather follow in that path indicated to us by John Bright, the great Commoner of England—[applause]—who declares that there is one single and sublime principle on which all great national questions should be settled, that is, the basis of eternal right. [Hear, hear, and applause.] And in close conformity to that was the remark to us of the noble liberal M.

Gasparin, of France, when he said, at the opening of our war for the Union, 'It does not depend on you to succeed, but above all, to be *right;* do what you *ought.*' [Applause.] And again, in this very hall, our noble and martyred chief, in February, 1860, in that noble, convincing, unanswerable speech, which stands high among the records of his most eloquent efforts, closed, as many of you may recollect, with that peroration which none can forget, and which comes to us to-night with renewed force from his grave. 'Let us have faith that Right makes Might, and in that faith let us, to the end, dare to stand by the Right.' [Great applause.] The President has denounced Congress (and in this he is copied by his Democratic followers) as guilty of usurpation. There is a phrase which our enemies have applied to us that I dislike to name in this presence; but it is the chief gem of Democratic literature in this contest, and, therefore, I must refer to it. This Congress is called a 'Rump Congress.' I have this to say in response—that if we have a Rump Congress because these rebels are not allowed to legislate for the land which they sought to destroy, we have got a Rump President, too—elected by the same voters, by the same States, by the same people, precisely, that elected this Congress. And what is more, when he swung around the circle, talking about this Congress being an illegal body, 'hanging,' he said, 'as it were, on the verge of the Government,' I have this to reply, that if this Congress is an illegal body, then he has himself taken money illegally from the Treasury. The Constitution which he has sworn to support declares that no money shall be taken from the Treasury except on appropriation by law. This Congress has voted him, for the last two years, twenty-five thousand dollars as Presi-

dent of the United States, and every month he has gone to the door of your Treasury and drawn his monthly salary, by virtue of this law passed by this Congress. And if this is not a legal Congress, he has wrongfully taken that money from the Treasury, and should be compelled to refund it. [Applause and laughter.] Instead of this Congress being guilty of usurpation, I shall prove to you, on the contrary, that for two years it has been warring against usurpations—usurpations by the Executive; usurpations without law; usurpations autocratic in their character. Some of these are familiar to you already, but I feel the necessity of referring to them in detail.

"The Constitution of the United States divided our Government into three branches—the Legislative Department, composed of the Senate and the House of Representatives; the Executive Department, the President; and the Judicial Department, the Supreme Court of the United States, and the United States Courts of inferior jurisdiction. The Legislative Department is so called because it is the law-making branch; it makes the laws. Why is the President called the Executive? Because he *executes* the laws; because he, unlike those of the other departments, is specially sworn to execute the laws. That is his peculiar and specific duty. I call him the President of the United States. I do not use the term that others have done, 'acting President;' because I regard him as entitled, by his succession to Mr. Lincoln, to the prerogatives and to the privileges of the Executive Department of the Government. But there is one thing I do rejoice at in my heart of hearts—that, deluded as we were in 1864, by his pledges made to us, by his declarations in favor of the Union cause,

so radical as we deemed him, we never elected him President of the United States. We elected him Vice-President, to preside over the Senate, and give the casting vote when it should be required. There was one man, and only one, that made him President of the United States, and that man's name was Wilkes Booth. When the bullet of the assassin crashed through the noble and generous brain of Abraham Lincoln, there was no one who clapped his hands for joy at that foul murder, that does not now clap his hands with joy over the policy of the man whom Wilkes Booth's act elevated from the Vice-Presidency to the position of the President of the United States. Nor is that all. The last wish of that miserable assassin, who sleeps in his dishonored grave, when he murdered your President, was to have a man in the Presidential chair over whose every act rebels should rejoice with exceeding joy. He has passed away; but if he could come back from the silence of the grave, and look upon this country, he would send up his pæans of joy that his dying wish had been fulfilled. I told you I intended to speak to you in regard to the usurpations of the President of the United States. When he became President, after the surrender of the armies of the rebellion, he immediately commenced the work of reconstruction without consultation with Congress. They could not meet except by his call. He refused to issue it, concluding to go on with the work without the authority of law. We looked on, anxiously waiting for the fruits of the work. It was called at the time 'an experiment.' He was going to see what would be the result of it; and it was finally to be submitted to Congress for ratification. His Secretary of State declared this explicitly to Governor Marvin,

of Florida, and Governor Sharkey, of Mississippi; and when Congress assembled, Mr. Johnson presented us with the results of his policy. And what were they? In nearly every State that had been reconstructed under his policy, a Governor had been elected who had either been in the armies of treason or in the councils of treason —but one solitary exception. In every State reconstructed by Mr. Johnson, in the legislative department the rebels had supreme and unlimited power. In the judicial department it was the same. They were triumphant in every branch of every department of all but one of the rebel States reconstructed by Mr. Johnson. The Union men were ruled by a rod of iron, and the freedmen were governed by laws merciless in their character, and intended to remit those emancipated slaves to a condition that would be worse than that from which they had, by the will of the nation, just escaped. Mr. Johnson showed us his policy, and said to the American Congress, 'These are my jewels.' We looked at them. We did not dare, before the country and before the civilized world, to say, 'Yea, and amen' to it. How could we? And because we did not, he has warred on us ever since, and the highest ambition of his heart now is to destroy the party which elevated him from the military Governorship of Tennessee to the Vice-Presidency of the Union. He talk about our usurpation! Usurpation! He said we put those States under military rule! So did the President. He said we required conventions to be called. So did the President. He said we required them to submit their Constitutions to the people for ratification. So did not the President. He said we established a test-vote for suffrage. So did the President. He said we demanded the ratification of a Con-

stitutional amendment. So did the President—he doing it without law; we doing it by law—he having no power to make a law; we having by the Constitution the power to make laws. Yet he calls us usurpers! That is not all. When he came to appoint officers in the Southern States, whom did he select? Did he take the faithful Union men, who dared to stand fast against enormous odds by the banner of their country? Oh, no! When he came to appoint officers, revenue officers, custom-house officers, surveyors, etc., nearly every one of them was taken from the traitors of the South, and not from the Union men. And those men, thus clothed with power by your President, turned around to these Union men in the South, and said to them, 'You thought, when the old flag came back in triumph, you were going to hold positions of trust over us. The Government at Washington know better than that. They know you haven't any influence. They want the men who dared to defy the nation, and to wage war that cost the blood of hundreds of thousands of your Yankee soldiers. You take back-seats; and if we allow you to remain here, you may thank us for the permission.' That was the result of his policy. But these officers could not take the test-oath. We passed a law in 1862 that no man could hold an appointed or elective office under the Government unless he could take an oath that he had not voluntarily participated in rebellion; and we put in, furthermore, this section: 'That no officer should draw money out of the Treasury until he filed this oath.' So, when these men had served, they came to the door of the Treasury, and said, 'We want our pay, but we cannot take the oath.' They went to Johnson, and through his cabinet official he said, 'These men held office, but they cannot draw their pay;' and we

said to him, 'Not one farthing of the people's money shall go into the pockets of these men.' ['Good!' Applause.] And because we said that, he has been warring upon us ever since, denouncing us. ['Turn him out.'] Sometimes those who defend him say he is carrying out Mr. Lincoln's policy. Look at the States Mr. Lincoln attempted to reconstruct during the rebellion—Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, and West Virginia, carved out of old Virginia. He placed them all in the hands of loyal men. Look at the States 'reconstructed' by Mr. Johnson—all but one of them put into the hands of rebels—the difference between the brilliant light of the sun at noon-day and the darkness of midnight. Mr. Lincoln never made Johnson Governor of Tennessee until he first made him a Brigadier in the army of the United States, confirmed by the Senate. As the Commander-in-chief of the army he had then the right to detail him for this duty. Johnson could have detailed any soldier to that duty, from a private to a general, under military law; but he had no more power to appoint to a civil office not created by law than any man or woman before me to-night. On the 2d of April, 1866, President Johnson issued his proclamation declaring peace established. He had a number of *whereases:* he put them all in this—six or eight of them. I need not read them; he recites the various proclamations by which these States were declared in rebellion, and then goes on and says:

"'And whereas the laws can be sustained and enforced therein by proper civil authority, State or Federal, and the people of said States are well and loyally disposed.'

"No doubt they were 'well and loyally disposed.' You have seen it when five hundred negroes in the South were wantonly killed since we made them free. You have seen it in the outrages upon white men because they were Union men. You see his policy and its results, which culminated at Memphis and New Orleans in the murder of white men, whose crime was that they sought to reconstruct on a loyal basis. He then adds, 'Whereas standing armies, military occupation, martial law, military tribunals, etc., are in times of peace dangerous, etc.' Every one knows that but for the army no Union man in the South was safe. He then goes on and says that peace is established. The Constitution says Congress shall have power to declare war, etc. The power to declare war carries with it the power to make peace. Your fathers knew, if there was to be war, the people who were to lay down their lives had the right to say when war should be declared and when it should be stopped. His proclamation was not worth the paper on which it was written. In July, 1862, the Congress of the United States passed a law authorizing the President to issue an Amnesty Proclamation, on such terms as he might see fit, for the purpose of ending the war. Mr. Lincoln issued one, basing it on this law, and it was spurned by the rebels. In January, 1867, not having as much faith in Mr. Johnson as we had had in Mr. Lincoln, knowing that he was pardoning rebels with the very same hand he was striking down Republicans, we repealed the act we had passed. Then, as if to defy the law, he issued this 'amnesty' proclamation for the pardon of rebels. A pardon which the President has the Constitutional power to grant is no more like an amnesty than a marriage license is like a statute. A license

affects only the parties procuring it, and they use it if they please, as a person accepts or rejects a proffered pardon. A statute affects the whole community. He knew he had no power to issue it. Even Mr. Black, who is so constantly at his ear, is reported to have told him he had no power to issue it. I suppose he found out last year that we didn't want him for President; so perhaps he thought we would have him for King. [Laughter.] Therefore, he issued this amnesty proclamation, with a number of 'whereases;' that the laws are now enforced in the States that were in insurrection, and the people of the said States are well and loyally disposed; that large standing armies and military governments are incompatible with the rights guaranteed by the Constitution; that a retaliatory and vindictive policy, inflicting pains and penalties, confiscation and disenfranchisement, now as always, can only tend to hinder reconciliation; therefore he declared a general amnesty, excepting only some two or three hundred persons, with restoration of all their privileges, immunities, and rights of property, except as to property with regard to slaves. I say that that amnesty proclamation was thrown intentionally by him into the very teeth of the people and Congress, to show us how he defied us, and how little he remembers or regards his official oath. The preamble of the original military bill—and the same doctrine is embodied in the two supplemental bills—states that whereas no legal State governments or adequate protection of life or property now exist in the rebel States of Virginia, etc., and whereas it is necessary that peace and good order should be enforced in said States, and loyal and republican State governments be legally established, therefore, it is pro-

vided that there shall be five military districts, and that those persons who have been perjured as officers of the State or the General Government, as well as traitors, should not now be voters, but should occupy back-seats. This bill declares that no legal governments exist there, and this declaration is subsequently repeated in the supplemental bills. But Mr. Johnson's amnesty proclamation declares expressly that they have civil governments there. Although in that bill we demand the disfranchisement for the present of certain classes of rebels, yet in the very teeth of that law he hurls defiance at that provision. I want to call your attention to his oath. After Congress has passed a law, no President has a right to any 'policy,' except to carry out the law. His oath is prescribed in the fifth section of the second article of the Constitution. It gives to Congress the power to make all laws necessary and proper to carry into execution all the powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof. There cannot be a department or officer of the Government with *any* power except by authority of the Congress of the United States, and that only. The Constitution gives to the President the power, after Congress has passed bills, to veto them; but if Congress repasses them by the two-thirds vote, then his oath as President operates as the Constitution prescribes. What is that oath? He 'shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.' Our fathers made that instrument for war as well as for peace, for the hurricane as well as the calm—so made that instrument that I have never thought it necessary to go outside of the Constitution for authority for all that we have done, but believed that the power to declare war

carries with it all the power of the laws of nations in war. That is all I want. [Applause.] Our fathers, with wise sagacity, thought there might be a President some time who would not like the laws which Congress had passed, and might wish to set up a policy of his own against them, and they required that every President should swear that he would execute the laws. They did not stop there. They said, 'You shall swear that you will faithfully execute these laws, though they may be contrary to your policy. Your oath as Executive requires you not only to *execute* them, but to *faithfully* execute them.' That means with zeal and fidelity and honesty. They did not stop there. They insert words which are found nowhere else, peculiar words, quaint words, that do not occur anywhere else in your national Constitution. They said, he shall swear that he will '*take care* that the laws be faithfully executed.' It shall be the object of his heart's zeal to do it with the whole vigor of his nature, with the whole power of the Government, enlisted in the work of 'taking care that the laws be faithfully executed.' Who will say that Andrew Johnson has faithfully kept that oath? ['No.'] No. He would scarcely say so himself. [Applause.] There has been a good deal of misrepresentation of what I said in Ohio. I will say again exactly what I said there. I do not intend to take back my words. I said that when Congress assembled again, if they find that the laws cannot be executed, that the President will not execute them, but on the contrary uses his Executive power to resist the laws of Congress, and to keep the country in turmoil, then I said that there was only one resort, and our fathers put upon us the responsibility of that resort. [Great cheering. A voice

—'Impeach him.'] What I have said has been taken down. I am not responsible for what others see fit to put into my mouth; but am responsible for what I say, and will not take back one word. [Applause.]

That is not all. You had as Secretary of War one on whose strong arm Lincoln leaned in every hour of trial. [Tremendous cheering.] You don't know how much you owed to that Secretary of War. Immersed in your business, your daily duties, you took up your paper in the morning and read that one Union General with his brave followers had defeated an army of the rebellion, and in your morning orisons you thanked God that the hour of our deliverance drew nigh. You little knew how much labor, foresight, and vigilance were required to keep the Commissary and the Quartermaster's Department amply supplied, perhaps by a single line of railroad; to have a vast accumulation in store for reverses as well as for victories; and the Secretary had to provide for them, to furnish the ammunition, the cannon, the rifles and commissary stores, and a large surplus of all these. Large quantities were required to be stored, and not only these, but large medical supplies must be forthcoming after a battle for the thousands lying on the battle-field. Every one of these needed auxiliaries to your army were keys under the hand or the fingers of the Secretary of War. Day and night, for weeks before a battle, he was engaged in the work, and the rebels hated him because of his stern, unflinching zeal, and because Abraham Lincoln loved him—that was enough. But there was a man came after Lincoln, Andrew Johnson; and because Mr. Stanton would not follow him in his wicked apostacy; because he stood by the laws and was hated by the rebels, and as they had the ear of Johnson, he

turned him out, and the hope of the rebels was fulfilled for a time at least. On the 21st day of November—only twenty-nine days more—I count the days day by day—[cheers]—on the 21st of November the Congress of the United States will again assemble; it will again resume its legislative authority and power in those halls [applause], and when twenty days expire from that time, Edwin M. Stanton will go back again into the War Department. [Tremendous and prolonged cheering.] And I can say, in the language of Watts' hymns:

> "'Fly swiftly round, ye wheels of time,
> And speed the welcome day.'

"But there is another General—a General who, when I mention his name, every loyal heart in this audience will throb with joy and emotion—it is Phil. Sheridan—[hearty cheers]—a man who, by his brilliant dash and magnetic power over his men, wrested victory from the very jaws of defeat in the Shenandoah—a man whose name was ever the synonym for success—a man who, as the Military Commander of Louisiana and Texas, protected the defenceless and rebuked the disloyal—a man who demanded that traitors should take back-seats there, and who allowed two Governors to write 'ex' before their names [laughter and applause] by turning them out of office—a man who breasted and turned back the tide of disloyalty that sought to sweep over those States. [Applause.] But they came up to Andrew Johnson and they said to him, 'This man, Sheridan, is making us traitors take back-seats in Louisiana; he has turned out Mayor Monroe, whom you pardoned; he has turned out Judge Abel, and he has turned out the Governors of Louisiana and Texas, and

wants loyal men to rule down there; we don't like him; he don't carry out your policy, and we want you to turn him out.' And Andrew Johnson said, 'He has refused to carry out my policy, and therefore I will remove him.' He did remove him, and sought to disgrace and dishonor him, but when Sheridan came North he was welcomed with an ovation such as any conqueror might well be proud of. [Applause.] That is not all. There was another General—he used to be a Democratic Congressman from the city of New York [loud cheers]—always a patriot, differing widely with many of us in the years that passed before the rebellion, but ever loving his country, however he might differ from others in regard to policy. But when the war broke out he loved his country more than he did party, like many thousands and tens of thousands of Democrats all over the land, [cheers,] and he enrolled himself bravely under the flag, and said, 'Myself, my life, my limbs, my heart's blood, I offer them on the altar of my country.' [Cheers.] On a hundred battle-fields the clear, sharp, clarion tones of his voice, which you know so well, rang out, inspiring his soldiers to rally for their country and their sacred cause, and on the field of Gettysburg, where for three days the scales of national life or death hung trembling in the balance, when we scarcely knew whether we would have a country saved or a country lost, ever in the front of the battle, Daniel E. Sickles, [hearty cheers,] brave among the bravest, stood heroically, until at last a cannon-ball of the enemy shattered his limb, and I saw last spring the barn in which, after he had reddened the soil with his blood, the amputating instrument of the surgeon severed the limb from the body, and sent him out to totter on a weary crutch the

remaining years of his life, till the grave closes over his body. He commanded in North and South Carolina. His first act there, and one for which I honor him, and one for which I know you will honor him, was to annul the laws under which they were whipping white and black men for petty offences. [Cheers.] He said it was a disgrace to the civilization and Christianity of the age. With ill-disguised reluctance, with unconcealed aversion, they yielded to the military power in the orders of Daniel E. Sickles. He did not stop there. He saw their processions passing up and down the streets of Charleston, that disloyal city, with the Confederate flag waving over them, the emblem of their lost cause, and the portrait of Stonewall Jackson and their other Generals borne in their midst; and at last, when his righteous anger could be restrained no longer, he issued an order and said—whether you like that flag or not, the flag of the Union shall be before my head-quarters, and as your procession passes every man of you shall bare your head and bow as you pass before it. [Wild cheers.] And so the rebels came again to Washington, [laughter,] and they said to Mr. Johnson 'We don't like this man we have got in North and South Carolina. He does not carry out your policy down there. He believes in the laws of this Congress; he executes those laws; he intends that none but loyal men shall have power there. We want you to turn him out.' And Andrew Johnson, forgetting the fact that the salvation of our country was owing to the sacrifices of those brave men, whom, one by one, he thus 'kicked out of office,' seeking to dishonor them, turned him out and sent him back here, to serve hereafter, with the stars off his shoulders, as a Colonel of the Veteran Reserve Corps. ['Shame,' and cheers for

Sickles.] That is the reward he has given to your faithful servants. Now, I have only to read to you a single sentence from the father of the Constitution. It is not in my language, but James Madison's. He says: 'Wanton removal of meritorious officers would subject the President to impeachment and removal from his own high trust.' [Cheers.] Somebody in this crowd asked me about the army in Maryland. I suppose you will hear about that from the eloquent gentleman who is to follow me, and who is from that State, (if I ever get through with my speech, and your many plaudits lengthen it,) but I have something to say about it, because I have no doubt you have all heard something I have been charged with saying upon the subject. I am now going to repeat what I said before. In the month of September last I read in the two organs of your President at Washington, the morning organ, *The National Intelligencer,* and the evening organ, *The Union,* threats in regard to the Congress of the United States. *The National Intelligencer* said: '*If Congress ever again convenes.*' These are significant words and mean that it did not know whether our master was going to allow us to convene or not. *The Union* uttered this language which I cut out and have here to read to you. On the 31st of August last it said:

"'Men of America, we call upon you in God's name and the name of liberty to rouse, to organize and prepare to meet this insidious, heartless tyrant,' (speaking of the Congress of the United States.) 'If necessary, consecrate the dying struggles of liberty and constitutional law with your blood.'

"On the 2d of September this evening organ of the President again said:

"'The Republic is not to be utterly destroyed while Andrew Johnson is President. * * * * *Congress will go out of sight in the twinkling of an eye.*'

"And then I read of this army in Maryland, where at the opening of the rebellion the first blood of your patriot soldiers was spilt and dyed the stones of its streets as they passed through Baltimore to save the Capital of an imperilled country. I do not know why such an army is being organized: I do not know why its battalions are marching and drilling day and night by the beat of drum, and its batteries of artillery are rumbling through the streets. I do not believe there is any one who dare execute these threats that I have read to you from these organs of the President of the United States. But this I did say in Ohio, that if any one in this broad land by revolutionary force destroys the Congress of the United States, overthrows the law-making power of this country, and drives it from its halls by illegal military power—I care not who that man is, be he high or low, if we have a country, he will afterward be tried as a traitor, and convicted as a traitor, he will die a traitor's death and fill a traitor's grave. [Immense applause.] I have no fear of any such thing. I use no threats. I am not in the habit of doing it, but I utter that prediction, knowing, as I believe, the will of the people, and what their own hearts and consciences would demand. There has been one rebellion, that is only remembered in broken hearts and crowded grave-yards, and weeds of mourning, and vacant chairs in every household, and weary crutches, and empty sleeves, and pallid faces, and wasted frames, a heavy debt, and taxes: but if there is to be another rebellion after this, if the law-making power, which is the people speaking through

their Senators and Representatives, is to be trampled under foot by revolutionary force, I believe in my heart there will be some example made to go down into American history as a warning, that no man hereafter shall gamble with the peace of this country and lose nothing by the stake. [Cheers.] Let me, before I draw to a conclusion, ['go on,'] allude to some remarks of the distinguished President of the Democratic State Convention, recently assembled, Gov. Seymour. [Laughter and hisses.] You hiss here—now, out in Indiana we never hiss, we do our hissing by our votes at the polls. [Cheers.] That is a great deal the best place. [Applause.] But Gov. Seymour had a great deal to say in that speech about that enormous debt. He talked about thousands of millions of debt and hundreds of millions of taxes. I grant it; but I say that the Democratic voters are the last men under the heavens to talk about the debt and the taxes. I know that you are taxed in basket and in store. I know that you are taxed on goods imported from abroad and on your industry at home. I know you are taxed on tea and coffee. I know you are taxed on every paper you use in commercial transactions; but you are taxed because there was a Democratic rebellion—Democratic in its birth, Democratic in its life, and Democratic in its death. Democratic in its inception, it was fostered and kept alive by Democratic aid and sympathy, and when it died it was wept over only by Democrats. [Laughter and applause.] I should think that every cup of tea and coffee these Democratic orators drink would blister their mouths as it reminds them of the fact. [Renewed laughter and cheers.] Every stamp you put upon a deed, a check, or a mortgage, is a Democratic sticking-plaster to remind you of a Demo-

cratic rebellion. [Laughter and cheers.] It was a Democratic rebellion. What party was in power when the rebellion broke out? The Democratic party. You had a Democratic President, and he had a Democratic Cabinet. Where was your Democratic President? His arm hung nerveless by his side, and when the country was wanting to see him take the traitors by the throat and strangle the monster they were raising, he issued a proclamation, through his message, that he had no right to prevent a State from seceding; and giving them this assurance that he would not interfere, they went on and organized their Confederate Government, and on the 18th of February, Jefferson Davis was sworn in as President, and Alex. H. Stephens as Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy, two weeks before Abraham Lincoln was sworn in as President of the United States. A Democratic Secretary of the Treasury, Howell Cobb, had stabbed the credit of the Government in the hope that it would not be able to borrow money to put men into the field, and arm and equip them. A Democratic Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, had emptied the Northern arsenals and filled the arsenals of the South, so as to disarm the North and arm the South; he had sent his friends, in the South, cannon and hundreds of thousands of guns, so that when the Rebellion broke out they could shoot down every one of you with your own guns, that dared to be faithful to your country, ['that's so,'] and he had scattered your armies to the very ends of the Republic, so that they could not be recalled in time to be at the call of the incoming President.

"A Democratic Secretary of the Navy, Isaac Toucey, had sent our navy to the ends of the earth. Its ships were in the Pacific, in the Mediterranean Sea, in the

Chinese Sea, in the South Sea—everywhere but within call. Such was the condition of things that, as I was informed by Mr. Lincoln himself, when he came into office, he could find but a regiment or two within reach to defend the country, and only one frigate of all the navy which cost us $13,000,000 per year, and that the Brooklyn, which drew too much water to enter Charleston harbor. Your Government was bound hand and foot, defenceless at the feet of its enemies. That is not all. Every State that rebelled had a Democratic Governor. Is not that a singular coincidence? And every State that had a Democratic Governor rebelled except Kentucky and Missouri, and these two States refused to answer the call of the President for troops, the Governor of one of them (Missouri) going out into the rebellion, as the heart of the Governor of Kentucky had gone before. That is not all. Every leading officer in that Confederacy was a Democrat. The President, Jeff. Davis, was a Democrat. The Vice-President, Alex. H. Stevens, was a Democrat; the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Thomas S. Bocock, was a Democrat; the Cabinet Ministers were all Democrats; Memminger, of South Carolina, was a Democrat; Benjamin, of Louisiana, was a Democrat; Mallory, of Florida, was a Democrat; Reagan of Texas, was a Democrat, and Sedden, of Virginia, was a Democrat. Every one of them, except one, were Democratic members of Congress, and all of them were Democrats. [Applause.] The chief commanders of their armies were Democrats. Lee was a Democrat; Beauregard was a Democrat; Breckenridge, a Democratic Vice-President, who had himself, solemnly, under his oath of office, declared Abraham Lincoln the constitutionally elected President of the United States, and then

drew his sword for the Confederacy. Hardie, Pemberton, Magruder—Democrats all through and through. Its foreign Ministers were Democrats. Slidell, of Louisiana, was a Democrat, Mason, of Virginia, was a Democrat, Rost, of Louisiana, was a Democrat—all of them Democrats. [Applause.] That is not all. Every man in the North who shouted 'No coercion,' and said you could not put down the rebellion, every man who gave aid, comfort, and sympathy to this wicked rebellion, to the last mother's son of them, every one of them was a Democrat—not a single one Republican, thank God.

"In this same platform of the Democratic party, they say that they indorse the principles of the Kotzka case. They do, do they? The principle of the Kotzka case is written upon our banner, and not upon theirs. [Applause.] What was that principle? A poor emigrant who had come to our shores, and declared his intention to become an American citizen, had gone back to Austria, and the minions of Austria had laid their hands upon him, and had said, 'You are an Austrian subject—you shall be subject to the Emperor's will—you shall go into his army.' When the news came back to America, though the man was friendless, without kith or kin, and with no means, he sent his wail of distress across the Atlantic, and Congress and the Government sent back word to the Emperor of Austria—'If you dare to lay your finger upon that man—if you dare to subject him to your authority, we will send our armies and our navies to your shores, if it costs us millions upon millions.' [Cheers.] That is the Kotzka case. Now I want to read to you what Secretary of State Marcy said on that subject in his letter written in 1853, fourteen years ago:

"'Whenever an individual becomes clothed with our national character, be he a native-born or naturalized citizen, an exile driven from his early home by political oppression, or an emigrant enticed from it by the hopes of a better future for himself and his posterity, he can claim the protection of this Government. * * For it is its duty to make its nationality respected by other nations, and respected in every quarter of the globe.'

"Why? These are the reasons:

"'Such domiciled citizen pays the same price for his protection as native-born or naturalized citizens pay for theirs. He is under the bonds of allegiance to the country of his residence, and if he breaks them incurs the same penalties; he owes the same obedience to the civil laws and must discharge the duties they impose upon him; his property is in the same way, and to the same extent as theirs, liable to contribute to the support of the Government. In war he shares equally with them in the calamities which may befall his country; his services may be required for its defence, his life may be perilled and sacrificed in maintaining its rights and vindicating its honor.'—*Marcy on Kotzka*, 1855.

"We have written this upon our banners, we say, that every man who sheds his blood under it shall have the protection of that banner. [Cheers.] And that brings me again to this Democratic party. I want to show, now, how it has trampled upon these truths of its fathers, and turned back upon the principles upon which it was founded, in the good old times when it used to claim that it was a party that protected the poor. Look at its last years of subserviency to slavery. God's poor it trampled under foot, and when we struck the chains from them, they clustered round the slave-owners and tried to keep the fetters upon the limbs of God's poor.

They talk about being opposed to class-legislation. Why, they have been for legislation for the slaveholders, the worst class-legislation that ever disgraced any land on the face of the earth. They talk of a Government of the people, and yet they sympathized with the rebels, a minority against the Government established by a majority of the people. They talk about equal and exact justice to all men. Why any of you go to a Democratic convention and try the experiment; offer a resolution: 'Resolved, in the language of Jefferson's Inaugural, that we demand, and will stand by to the end, equal and exact justice for all men,' and they will hiss you out of their convention. (Laughter and applause.) They talk about standing by the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson, the father of their party, was the writer of that instrument. He wrote that with his pen which Washington afterwards carved out so gloriously with his sword. But if he could rise from the grave to-day, and look at the men who claim to be his children, he would turn round and say: 'I never knew you.'

"Go into a Democratic convention and try it; offer a resolution, 'Resolved, that we declare, in the language of Jefferson, that all men are created equal, and that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed,' and they will turn you out as abolitionists. And that is not all. They predict evil, and then they try to verify it. They said you could not subjugate the South, and they fought every war policy of the Government intended to subjugate it. They had no rejoicing for your victories; no sorrows for your reverses, no eulogies for your heroes, no war but with Mr. Lincoln. They said you could not reconstruct when the war was over; and when you passed the laws,

they went over the land fostering discord and encouraging unrepentant rebels to defy the laws. They said you could not pay the public debt, and they discouraged subscriptions to the Government loan, and said that greenbacks would finally be good for nothing, that it would take a hatful of them to buy a hat. [Laughter and applause.] That is not all. At the very opening of the rebellion Jeff. Davis shouted 'No coercion,' and so did the Democrats of the North. When Abraham Lincoln put negroes into the army to fight, Jeff. Davis denounced it; so did the Democrats. When Mr. Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, Jeff. Davis denounced it; so did the Democrats. When Jeff. Davis said this was a negro war, the Democrats echoed his words and said: 'This is a negro war.' When Jeff. Davis denounced Abraham Lincoln as a tyrant and despot, the Democrats echoing his words said, 'Abraham Lincoln is a tyrant and despot.' Jeff. Davis ridiculed the greenbacks; so did the Democrats; and at last Jeff. Davis said: 'You cannot conquer the South,' and then the Democrats met in convention at Chicago—and do you remember when Andrew Jackson lived he thrilled the national heart and thrills it to-day with that motto which will live as long as his name is remembered and honored, as it will be as a patriot: 'The Union, it must and shall be preserved.' [Cheers.] And these men went to Chicago, claiming to be the descendants of Andrew Jackson politically, and in the very crisis of your national agony, when you had 600,000 men in the field or dying in hospitals, who were calling to us, 'Give us aid, send down more men; we will die here, so that the nation shall live.' And the answer came from the Chicago Convention, 'You cannot put down the rebel-

lion; we declare that the war is a failure, and we demand a cessation of hostilities.' I turn gladly from this dark picture I have painted to you of the usurpations of your President and the recreancy of those who called themselves the Democratic party, to that party we love in our heart of hearts. Oh my friends, its victories are enshrined in our history. You must tear out from the annals of our country its brightest pages, before posterity shall forget the victories and the bright deeds of this noble party, of which you and I are part and parcel. [Immense applause.] My friends, you may all pass away; this vast throng that is listening to me so kindly, and so attentively, may all be gathered, as we all shall be, under the clods of the valley; but the deeds of our great organization shall live in all history, brightening in the eye of posterity until age after age shall have passed away; and your children's children shall rise up and call you blessed, because amid all the perils of war you dared to strike at Slavery, and redeemed this fair land so gloriously that, from ocean to ocean, and from the snows of the North to where the flowers bloom in perpetual spring, there lives no man who can call himself master, or call another his slave." [Long-continued applause.]

CHAPTER XXXII.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR BAKER—NOMINATED BY INDIANA REPUBLICAN CONVENTION FOR VICE-PRESIDENT—CHICAGO NATIONAL UNION REPUBLICAN CONVENTION—PLATFORM OF THE CONVENTION—NOMINATION OF GRANT AND COLFAX.

On the fifteenth of February, 1868, Mr. Colfax wrote to Governor Baker, of Indiana, the following letter, which was read in the State Republican Convention of Indiana, that met at Indianapolis, February 20th, 1868:

"His Excellency Governor Baker:

"My Dear Sir: I should be glad to accept your kind invitation, and thus enjoy the privilege of looking into the faces of the representative men of our organization in Indiana, when they come together next Thursday in their biennial convention. But the rules of the House do not allow its presiding officer to be absent during its sessions, and I must therefore deny myself this great pleasure. It may not be inappropriate, on the threshold of the important campaign before us, to look back for a few minutes at those deeds and triumphs of our young and patriotic party which are garnered up in our national history, and which no defamation by our enemies can ignore or obscure.

"When the Rebellion, with its Democratic President, Democratic Cabinet officers, and Democratic Generals, threw down the gauntlet at the feet of the nation they had resolved to destroy, and when the Democratic leaders of the North, in reply, exclaimed 'No coercion,'

it was the Union Republican party that wrote on its banners, 'The last man and the last dollar, if need be;' and the unconquerable armies their Congressional legislation called to the field, finally 'coerced' the rebellion into subjection.

"In the darkest days of the struggle, when at every street-corner we were tauntingly told by Democrats, 'You can't conquer the South,' there was one party that never despaired of the Republic, and that party was the one whose delegates now meet at our State capital.

"When unprecedented and onerous taxation became necessary to maintain our credit, to pay and supply our heroic soldiers, we dared to defy the prejudice which every Democratic speaker and editor attempted to inflame against the burdens of taxation; and, thus daring, triumphed.

"When conscription laws became a military necessity, to fill up our regiments decimated again and again by the bullets of the enemy and the diseases of the camp, the siege and the march, and when the land was filled with Democratic denunciations of these laws, we risked popularity, victory, and all, by defending them as bravely as our veterans defended the country in the field.

"When Mr. Lincoln at last struck at slavery as the cause of all our woes, as well as the right arm of the rebellion, and when Democratic orators and writers most scandalously and persistently calumniated us as having converted the war for the Union into an abolition war to free negroes, we fearlessly allied our cause to that of the humble and the helpless, and Providence rewarded us for our fidelity by that brilliant succession of triumphs which gave victory to the Union as well as freedom to the slave.

"When the National Convention of our opponents at Chicago dared to hang out the white flag of surrender, by proclaiming the war a failure, and demanding an immediate cessation of hostilities, we promptly accepted the issue. And the soldier with his cartridge-box, and the voter with the ballot-box, united in stamping their indignant condemnation on the disgraceful avowal.

"When the Government was compelled to issue bonds by the hundreds of millions for the preservation of our national existence, Democrats ridiculed them as worthless, and cautioned the people against risking their means in them. But the loyal people were deaf to their warnings; and now the same party denounce them as having made too good an investment in their purchase.

"When 'greenbacks' were authorized by a Republican Congress, who can forget the Democratic predictions that it would ultimately take a hatful of them to buy a hat? And now they have the assurance to seek to make political capital out of their popularity.

"When the Thirty-ninth Congress rejected the President's policy of reconstruction, and insisted on one which should embody constitutional guarantees for the future, with full protection for all who loved the flag and the Union, our enemies denounced us as wishing to postpone reconstruction. *Now* these same Democrats, with their ally, the President, are striving to put every possible stumbling-block in the way of the return of these self-exiled States.

"When 'the Fourteenth Article' was proposed as an amendment to the Constitution—embodying no mandatory suffrage enactment, but protecting equally the civil rights of all, native-born and naturalized, making a voter in Indiana just as potential as one in South Carolina, and

no more, and barring the door of the Treasury against any payments for emancipated slaves or the rebel debt, the whole Democratic party denounced it, and urged the South to spurn it, as they did. *Now* the two Democratic States of Kentucky and Maryland demand payment, out of the people's taxes in the Treasury, for the slaves the nation emancipated; and the two Democratic Legislatures of Ohio and New Jersey endeavor to withdraw the assent of those States to this beneficent Constitutional Amendment, leaving the door open for the presentation of these Democratic claims if a Democratic Congress could be chosen.

"I will not extend this letter by a defence of the Congressional policy of reconstruction, for Senator Morton's able vindication of it has covered the whole ground unanswerably. Suffice it to say that Congress, having authorized the suffrage of every free man in the Southern States, rebels and all, except those who, by violating official oaths, had added perjury to treason, and the Democratic party having denounced us for this limited and temporary disfranchisement, the same party shouts its rejoicings over the fact that the remainder of the unrepentant rebels in Alabama have recently and *voluntarily disfranchised themselves,* in the vain attempt to prevent the reorganization of that State on a loyal basis.

"Nor is this all. The President, now in full sympathy with the same Democratic party which opposed his election—the same person who, as a candidate, declared that treason should be made odious, but who, as Chief Magistrate, is the hope and admiration of every rebel in the land—whose oath binds him 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed,' and who keeps it by

striking down officer after officer for the performance of this duty—who retains in office and under salary as his Attorney-General a gentleman who says publicly that he will not appear before the Court to defend 'the laws' from hostile attack—(despite his anti-Stanton message, in which he claims that these Executive officers should be in unison with him)—stands at last self-convicted before the country as having striven to induce the General of our armies to defy a law he did not himself dare to resist. Signally failing in this, his Democratic supporters unite in bitter denunciations of that single-hearted and illustrious officer, with epithets which I will not soil these pages by repeating. But the heart of the country, always generous and just, turns towards this gallant and slandered Commander, with even more affection than before, and longs for the hour when, at the ballot-box, the people will vindicate his fair fame from these malignant aspersions, and call him to that seat of power and responsibility which has been honored by the Father of the Country thatour greatest soldier saved.

"And the Congress to whose fidelity and inflexible firmness the nation, despite the criticism of friend or foe, owes the prevention of rebel reconstruction in the South, will, instead of taking any backward step, 'speak to the people that they go forward,' until every star on our banner, paled though they may have been by treason, shall shine with that brilliancy which only loyalty insures. "Very truly yours,

"SCHUYLER COLFAX."

The Republican State Convention of Indiana, in harmony with the action of all the Republican State Conventions, instructed its delegates to cast the vote of the

State for General Grant for President. With like zeal and unanimity they also instructed their delegates to cast the vote of Indiana for Mr. Colfax for the Vice-Presidency.

The National Union Republican Convention met in Chicago on Wednesday, May 20th, 1868. There were present delegates from all the States and Territories. They numbered six hundred and fifty. The following was the platform of principles adopted:

"The National Republican party of the United States, assembled in National Convention in the city of Chicago, on the 21st day of May, 1868, make the following declaration of principles:

"I. We congratulate the country on the assured success of the Reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption, in the majority of the States lately in rebellion, of Constitutions securing Equal, Civil, and Political Rights to all, and it is the duty of the Government to sustain those institutions and to prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy.

"II. The guarantee by Congress of Equal Suffrage to all loyal men at the South, was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of Suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.

"III. We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

"IV. It is due to the Labor of the Nation that taxation should be equalized, and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit.

"V. The National Debt contracted, as it has been, for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon, whenever it can be honestly done.

"VI. That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay, and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected.

"VII. The Government of the United States should be administered with the strictest economy; and the corruptions which have been so shamefully nursed and fostered by Andrew Johnson, call loudly for radical reform.

"VIII. We profoundly deplore the untimely and tragic death of Abraham Lincoln, and regret the accession to the Presidency of Andrew Johnson, who has acted treacherously to the people who elected him and the cause he was pledged to support; who has usurped high legislative and judicial functions; who has refused to execute the laws; who has used his high office to induce other officers to ignore and violate the laws; who has employed his executive powers to render insecure the property, the peace, liberty and life of the citizen; who has abused the pardoning power; who has denounced the National Legislature as unconstitutional; who has persistently and corruptly resisted, by every means in his power, every proper attempt at the recon-

struction of the States lately in rebellion; who has perverted the public patronage into an engine of wholesale corruption; and who has been justly impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and properly pronounced guilty thereof by the vote of thirty-five Senators.

"IX. The doctrine of Great Britain and other European powers that, because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of feudal times, not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship, as though they were native-born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the Government to interfere in his behalf.

"X. Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperilled their lives in the service of the country; the bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care.

"XI. Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development and resources and increase of power to this republic, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal and just policy.

"XII. This Convention declares itself in sympathy with all oppressed peoples struggling for their rights.

"Unanimously added, on motion of General Schurz:

"*Resolved*, That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the Rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern State Governments upon the basis of Impartial Justice and Equal Rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as their spirit of loyalty will direct, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people.

"*Resolved*, That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence, as the true foundation of democratic government; and we hail with gladness every effort toward making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil."

The nomination by this Convention of General Grant for the Presidency was but the ratification of that which had already been done by the people through the press, mass-meetings, and State conventions. The only division of the Convention was concerning the nomination of the Vice-President. It was altogether contrary to precedent that the nomination should be made from the same section of country from which the nomination for President was made. General Grant was from Illinois. Mr. Colfax was from Indiana. Other distinguished men

were urged for the nomination for Vice-President, not only upon the ground of their own abilities and services in behalf of the country, but also upon the ground that the two highest offices in the gift of the people ought not to be conferred upon men from the same section of the country. Mr. Colfax had, however, been put in nomination by the convention of his own and several other States; and it soon became evident upon the balloting that no other man could command a majority of the votes of the Convention. His nomination was upon the fifth ballot, and immediately made unanimous.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

RECEPTION OF THE NOMINATIONS BY THE COUNTRY—FILIAL REGARD—SERENADE SPEECH OF MR. COLFAX, MAY 22, 1868—RESPONSE TO COMMITTEE OF CONVENTION—LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE—PILLARS IN OUR TEMPLE OF LIBERTY—OUR COUNTRY'S FUTURE—CONCLUSION.

THE telegraph at once flashed through all the land the tidings of the nominations. They were everywhere hailed with delight and enthusiasm, and as pledges of a glorious victory in the great political conflict of the year.

A despatch to Mr. Colfax very soon after his nomination was made, announced it to him. He was surrounded by his associates at the Capitol, and their warm congratulations were poured upon him. But in apparent forget-

fulness of himself, he immediately gave the despatch to a messenger to take to his mother at the other end of the Avenue, remarking, "I know she is anxious to hear the result." This little incident of the filial regard of Schuyler Colfax for his mother reveals a feature of his character, which has pervaded his life from childhood, and has shed a lustre upon the qualities which have given him distinction and honor among men. It has been a theme which has frequently elicited the praise and admiration of letter-writers from Washington.

Upon the night succeeding the day of their nomination by the Chicago convention, General Grant and Speaker Colfax were, each of them, serenaded at their residences in Washington, and called out to address the people. The following was the response of Mr. Colfax to the calls of the assemblage that had gathered before his dwelling:

SERENADE SPEECH, MAY 22, 1868.

"MY FRIENDS: I thank you with all the emotions of a grateful heart, for this flattering manifestation of your confidence and regard, and I congratulate you on the auspicious opening of the eventful campaign on which we are entering. In the Chicago Convention, representing the entire area of the Republic, every State, every territory, every district, and every delegate, from ocean to ocean, declared that their first and only choice for President was Ulysses S. Grant. [Great applause.] Brave and yet unassuming, reticent and yet, when necessary, firm as the eternal hills, [applause,] with every thought, and hope, and aspiration, for his country, with modesty only equalled by his merits, it is not extravagant for me to say that he is to-day, of all other men in

the land, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen. [Great applause.] His name is the very synonym of victory, and he will lead the Union hosts to triumph at the polls, as he led the Union armies to triumph in the field.

"But greater even than the conqueror of Vicksburg and the destroyer of the rebellion is the glorious inspiration of our noble principles. We proclaim the sublime truths of the Declaration of Independence, and our banner bears an inscription more magnetic than the names of its standard-bearers, which the whole world can see as it floats to the breeze—'Liberty and Loyalty, Justice and Public Safety.'

Defying all prejudices, we are for uplifting the lowly and protecting the oppressed. [Applause.] History records, to the immortal honor of our organization, that it saved a nation and emancipated a race. We struck the fetter from the limbs of the slave, and lifted millions into the glorious sunlight of liberty. We placed the emancipated slave on his feet, as a man, and put into his right hand the ballot to protect his manhood and his rights. We staked our political existence on the reconstruction of the revolted States, on the sure and eternal corner-stone of loyalty, and we shall triumph. I know there is no holiday contest before us; but with energy and zeal, with principles that humanity approves, and that I believe God will bless, we shall go through the contest, conquering and to conquer, and on the fourth day of March next the people's champion will be borne by the people's vote to yonder White House, that, I regret to say, is now dishonored by its unworthy occupant. Then, with peace and confidence, we may expect our beloved country to enter upon a career of prosperity

exceeding the most brilliant triumphs of our past. I bid you God-speed in this work, and now good-night."

On the 29th of May, Mr. Colfax was formally informed by the Committee appointed by the Chicago convention of his nomination for Vice-President. The following was his reply to General Hawley, Chairman of the Committee, and the President of the Convention:

"MR. PRESIDENT HAWLEY AND GENTLEMEN: History has already proclaimed that the victories of the party you represent during the recent war, always gave increased hope and confidence to the nation, while its reverses and defeats ever increased the national peril. It is no light tribute, therefore, to the millions of Republicans in the forty-two States and Territories represented in the Chicago Convention, that our organization has been so inseparably interwoven with the best interests of the Republic that the triumphs and reverses of the one have been the triumphs and reverses of the other. Since the General of our armies with his heroic followers crushed the rebellion, the key-note of its policy, that loyalty should govern what loyalty preserved, has been worthy of its honored record in the war. Cordially agreeing with the platform adopted by its national Convention, and the resolutions thereto attached, I accept the nomination with which I have been honored, and will hereafter communicate that acceptance to you in the more formal manner that usage requires."

Upon the next day the following letter was sent to General Hawley:

LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *May* 30, 1868.

"HON. J. R. HAWLEY,

"*President of the National Union Republican Convention:*

"DEAR SIR: The platform adopted by the patriotic Convention over which you presided, and the resolutions which so happily supplement it, so entirely agree with my views as to a just national policy, that my thanks are due to the delegates, as much for this clear and auspicious declaration of principles as for the nomination with which I have been honored, and which I gratefully accept.

"When a great rebellion, which imperilled the national existence, was at last overthrown, the duty of all others devolving on those intrusted with the responsibility of legislation evidently was to require that the revolted States should be readmitted to a participation in the Government against which they had warred, only on such a basis as to increase and fortify, not to weaken or endanger, the strength and power of the nation. Certainly no one ought to have claimed that they should be readmitted under such rule that their organization as States could ever again be used, as at the opening of the war, to defy the national authority, or to destroy the national unity. This principle has been the pole-star of those who have inflexibly insisted on the Congressional policy which your Convention so cordially indorsed.

"Baffled by Executive opposition and by the persistent refusals to accept any plan of reconstruction proposed by Congress, justice and public safety at last

combined to teach us that only by an enlargement of the suffrage in those States could the desired end be attained, and that it was even more safe to give the ballot to those who love the Union than to those who had sought ineffectually to destroy it. The assured success of this legislation is being written on the adamant of history, and will be our triumphant vindication. More clearly, too, than ever before does the nation now recognize that the greatest glory of a Republic is that it throws the shield of its protection over the humblest and weakest of its people, and vindicates the right of the poor and the powerless as faithfully as those of the rich and the powerful.

"I rejoice, too, in this connection, to find in your platform the frank and fearless avowal that our naturalized citizens must be protected abroad at every hazard, as though they were native-born. Our whole people are foreigners or descendants of foreigners. Our fathers established by arms their right to be called a nation. It remains for us to establish the right to welcome to our shores all who are willing, by oaths of allegiance, to become American citizens. Perpetual allegiance, as claimed abroad, is only another name for perpetual bondage, and would make all slaves to the soil where first they saw the light. Our national cemeteries prove how faithfully these oaths of fidelity to their adopted land have been sealed in the life-blood of thousands upon thousands. Should we not then be faithless to the dead if we did not protect their living brethren in the full enjoyment of that nationality for which, side by side with the native-born, our soldiers of foreign birth laid down their lives?

"It was fitting, too, that the representatives of a party

which had proved so true to national duty in time of war should speak so clearly in time of peace for the maintenance untarnished of the national honor, national credit, and good faith as regards its debt—the cost of our national existence.

"I do not need to extend this reply by further comment on a platform which has elicited such hearty approval throughout the land. The debt of gratitude it acknowledges to the brave men who saved the Union from destruction; the frank approval of amnesty, based on repentance and loyalty; the demand for the most rigid economy and honesty in the Government; the sympathy of the party of liberty with all throughout the world who long for the liberty we here enjoy; and the recognition of the sublime principles of the Declaration of Independence, are worthy of the organization on whose banners they are to be written in the coming contest. Its past record cannot be blotted out or forgotten. If there had been no Republican party, slavery would to-day cast its baleful shadow over the Republic. If there had been no Republican party, free press and free speech would be as unknown from the Potomac to the Rio Grande as ten years ago. If the Republican party could have been stricken from existence when the banner of rebellion was unfurled, and when the response of 'no coercion' was heard at the North, we would have had no nation to-day. But for the Republican party, daring to risk the odium of tax and draft laws, our flag could not have been kept flying in the field until the long-hoped-for victory came. Without a Republican party the Civil Rights Bill—the guarantee of equality under the law to the humble and defenceless as well as to the strong—would not be to-day upon our national statute-book.

"With such inspiration from the past, and following the example of the founders of the Republic, who called the victorious General of the Revolution to preside over the land his triumphs had saved from its enemies, I cannot doubt that our labors will be crowned with success. And it will be a success that shall bring restored hope, confidence, prosperity, and progress, South as well as North, West as well as East, and above all, the blessings under Providence of National Concord and Peace.

"Very truly yours,

"SCHUYLER COLFAX."

General Grant is the embodiment of the virtues of the soldier, Speaker Colfax of the virtues of civil wisdom. As the pillars Jachin and Boaz in Solomon's temple were not only marvellous in beauty and glory, but the pillars of its strength—these names, beautiful and glorious in fame, are now the pillars of strength in our temple of liberty.

The life of Mr. Colfax, traced through a rigid narrative of facts, is seen to have been unfolded from the germ of principle. It has been beautiful in its growth and symmetrical in its development. No internal weakness has permitted it to be marred in any of its parts; no external force has succeeded in rending away from it any of its extending glory; striking its roots down in rugged places, and growing to its height amid storm and tempest, it has yet been like a tree planted by the rivers of water, with unfading leaf and yielding its fruit in its season. Such a life reflects the glory of our Republican institutions; and as an ensample, it is a beacon of hope to every youth in the land.

"In the cheerful face of the next Vice-President,"

writes one, "every young man feels his aspirations reflected. The grandson of the guardsman over the tent of Washington, he is properly placed on the banners of the New Republic with the hero of the war for the Union. Every widow and every widow's son will feel in sympathy with Schuyler Colfax, whose obedient face is endeared to his mother as to his country. Every large and temperate patriotism will see in Colfax a bright star still ascendant, rising as upon the steps of the Capitol from noble to nobler use."

Upon June 9th, 1868, in the Capitol of the nation, the strange sight was seen of the reception of an imposing embassy from the Celestial Empire, the first of its kind to the civilized world from that government of hundreds of millions of people, which has endured through so many of the ages of the world, and is so rich and unique in its products and arts. The strange scene and the words of welcome addressed to the embassy by the Speaker of the House, awaken thronging thoughts of the wonderful future of our country. The following were the words of the Speaker upon the occasion:

"YOUR EXCELLENCIES: The House of Representatives intermits its ordinary labors to-day to receive in this hall the Embassy which the oldest nation of the world has commissioned to America and Europe; and, in the name of the people of the United States, we bid you welcome. Spanning a continent in our area, from the Bay of Fundy to the granite portals of the Golden Gate, we turn our faces from the fatherland of Europe to clasp hands, in closer relations than ever before, with those who come to us from that continent which was the birth-place of mankind. Nor does it lessen our pleasure

that the chief of this Embassy, transferred, as he was, from membership here to diplomatic duties abroad, so won the confidence of his Imperial Majesty, to whom he was accredited, that he returns to our midst honored, with his distinguished associates, as the custodians of the most remarkable trust ever committed by an Emperor to his Envoys.

"This Embassy of the Chinese Empire, which has attracted such universal attention, has been hailed throughout our land, not only as marking an onward step in the world's history, but as being of peculiar interest to this Republic. With our Western States fronting the same Pacific sea on which the millions of China have looked, ages before our country was born into the family of nations—with our Pacific Railroad rapidly approaching completion, and destined, with the steamers plying from its *termini*, east and west, to become the highway of commerce between Asia and Europe—with our possessions on the Pacific slope, nearest of all the great nations to the Empire from which you come, we hail your appearance at this Capitol as the augury of closer commercial and international intercourse. Wishing you as cordial a greeting wherever you may go, on the Thames and on the Seine, the Danube and the Rhine, the Baltic and the Adriatic, I give you again an earnest and a heartfelt welcome."

If, as a people, we are true to the principles of our fathers and the principles of righteousness by which the Most High governs the nations of the earth, who can tell what shall be the greatness and the glory of this land of ours, so vast in its area, so situated amid the great waters and continents of the globe, the destined

highway of Europe and the Far East? The life of Mr. Colfax throughout has been pervaded with those principles. And we have no more fitting conclusion for this volume than words of his, referring, in a speech at Lansing, Michigan, June, 1867, to the motto inscribed, by the policy of Congress, upon the banner of the land: "Justice for all men in this American Republic."

"I believe that God, who sitteth upon the Throne, who is the friend of the oppressed and the enemy of the oppressor, will, as He looks down upon this land which He has so peculiarly favored with the thronging triumphs of the past, bless us as we rally around that principle and incorporate it, too, in our national, supreme law. And then, standing proudly eminent above the nations of the Old World, the despotisms which, I trust, are weakening, thank God, in this day of liberty, of light and of progress, we can invite them to look upon this Republic of ours, where from shore to shore there shall be no man so humble, no man so down-trodden, no man so despised, no man so oppressed, but that he can point to our National Banner and say: 'Poor though I am in all things else, that is my birthright; that is my shield.'

"And the American people, having thus consummated this great work of reconstruction, following appropriately upon the victory won by our national armies; having established this nation upon these eternal and immutable principles of liberty and justice to all, I look forward to a prosperity awaiting us, more brilliant than all our glorious history in the past; not confined to us of the North, not confined to us of the West, but in which *the South* shall fully and richly share. When the Southern people yield themselves honestly and in good faith to those demands upon which, as security for the future, security for the Union, security for all its people—the

loyal and victorious portion of this Republic have a right to insist; when they cultivate a devotion to the Union, instead of the lost cause; and reconcile themselves to the new system of industry, by which the land, which has been poisoned by the sweat of unpaid labor, shall bloom and blossom under the energy and vigor of labor remunerated and made honorable, I look to see a new and brighter era open upon the South. With a more genial climate than we have in the colder North; with a wider range of production, for they have indigenous to their soil the great staples of the world, cotton, tobacco, sugar and rice; with water-power exhaustless, though yet unimproved, leaping down from the mountain sides to the sea, marking the future locations of teeming and busy industrial manufactories; the regenerated South, with its loins girt anew for the race of progress and prosperity, will rival us in our march to wealth and greatness and power. Then, when to North and to South alike, the wrongs and oppressions of the past shall seem as a horrid dream; when your children will ask you with wonder, whether it was possible that in years gone by, men were mobbed, and tarred and feathered, and hung, for simply saying that they preferred liberty to slavery in the United States, and when you will confess to them that this was really so in the darker days of the Republic; then, in the brighter light of liberty and justice, North and South shall go together, clasped hand in hand, rivals only in the triumphal march of national progress, united with one heart in the great work of making this Republic the noblest, the purest, the truest, as it will be the richest land beneath the circuit of the sun."

THE END.

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